

**The governance of tourism development in Athens:
A strategic-relational approach**

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Abstract

Academic literature has examined how the development of tourism destinations involves collaborative relationships between the various actors that participate in tourism policy and planning. In terms of an institutional analysis this thesis is about similar processes, yet it also explores the ways in which place- and time-specific material factors and perceptions characterize different patterns of tourism politics. Without making assumptions about the harmonious or conflicting nature of interactions among actors and the contexts surrounding them, the thesis advances the idea of a relational-evolutionary perspective on the processes of tourism policy and planning. Studying the governance of tourism development requires an assessment of the contextual coupling of different elements as both the corollary of earlier events and the precursor of future developments. In this thesis, a strategic-relational approach to tourism governance comprises the conceptual framework that provides explanatory depth into the contextual analysis of experiences and events.

The case study approach is employed for the operationalization of the strategic-relational approach in the context of Athens as a tourist-historic and capital city of a highly centralised Southern-European state. The endeavour is based on the collection and analysis of data from documentary sources and semi-structured interviews. The interpretation of empirical evidence through the strategic-relational approach reveals the irony of a multifarious and multi-scalar governance context, which has not met the expectations of interest groups, especially in recent years, concerning tourism development in Athens. In other words, the thesis portrays the challenges and weaknesses that expand within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus and hinder the enhancement of Athens as an urban tourism destination while recording the perceptions, experiences and practices of various actors.

Dedication

This Thesis is dedicated to my mother and to the loving memory of my father,
godmother, godfather, and uncle Giorgos

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Of course, throughout these years, I have been dependent on the love and support of my family and friends, so many of whom have contributed both directly and indirectly to finishing this job. Among these people, I will never forget what a dear friend, Lefteris, told me a few days before I start the PhD:

“Beware! It is a nice thing to get educated (μορφώνομαι is the respective Greek verb), but the way you want it is possible you will over-educate yourself (the Greek verb παρα-μορφώνομαι also means that you become deformed)”.

Hopefully, this statement will forever remind me of where I am coming from.

Glossary of Acronyms

AAHA: Attica-Athens Hotel Association

ACB: Athens Convention Bureau (2008-onwards)

ACVB: Athens Convention & Visitors Bureau (2003-2006)

AGECO: Association of Greek Exhibition and Conference Organizers

AGTE: Association of Greek Tourist Enterprises

AMRP: Athens Master Regulatory Plan

APSC: Association of Passengers Shipping Companies

ATEDC: Athens Tourism and Economic Development Co

BCRRA: Business Confederation of Rented Rooms and Apartments

BOOT Scheme: Build-Operate-Own-Transfer

CSF: Community Support Framework

COH: Chamber of Hotels

COS: Council of State

CSS: Community Summary Sheet

DAT: Data Analysis Table

DSF: Document Summary Form

EIA: Environmental Impact Assessment

EU: European Union

FEO: Foreigners and Exhibitions Office

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GFSPSD: General Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development

GNTO: Greek National Tourism Organization

GST: General Secretariat of Tourism

HAAR: Hellenic Association of Airline Representatives

HACA: Hellenic Air Carriers Association

HAPCO: Hellenic Association of Professional Congress Organizers

HATTA: Hellenic Association of Travel & Tourist Agencies

HCT: High Council of Tourism

HHF: Hellenic Hotel Federation

HPYOA: Hellenic Professional Yacht Owners Association

HRCCA: Hellenic Rental Car Companies Association

JMD: Joint Ministerial Decision

MD: Ministerial Decision

MINENV: Ministry for the Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works

MINCUL: Ministry of Culture

MINECO: Ministry of National Economy and Finance

MINTD: Ministry of Tourism Development (structure from 2004 to 2009)

MOD: Ministry of Development

MOT: Ministry of Tourism (structures before 2004)

NBT: National Board of Tourism

NCSPSD: National Council for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development

NSRF: National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013

NTUA: National Technical University of Athens

OPEPA: Organisation of Planning & Environmental Protection of Athens

PASOK: Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement

P.D: Presidential Decree

PFTE: Pan-Hellenic Federation of Tourism Enterprises

PFTG: Pan-Hellenic Federation of Tourist Guides

PPA: Piraeus Port Authority

PPP: Public-Private Partnership

PREC: Public Real Estate Corporation

PTA: Piraeus Traders Association

PTPC: Prefecture Tourism Promotion Committee

ROPA: Regional Operational Programme for Attica

SIDPOHA: Special Integrated Development Plans for Olympic Host Areas

SFSPSDT: Special Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development of Tourism

SMPGT: Strategic Marketing Plan for Greek Tourism

SRA: Strategic-Relational Approach

TDC: Tourism Development Co.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

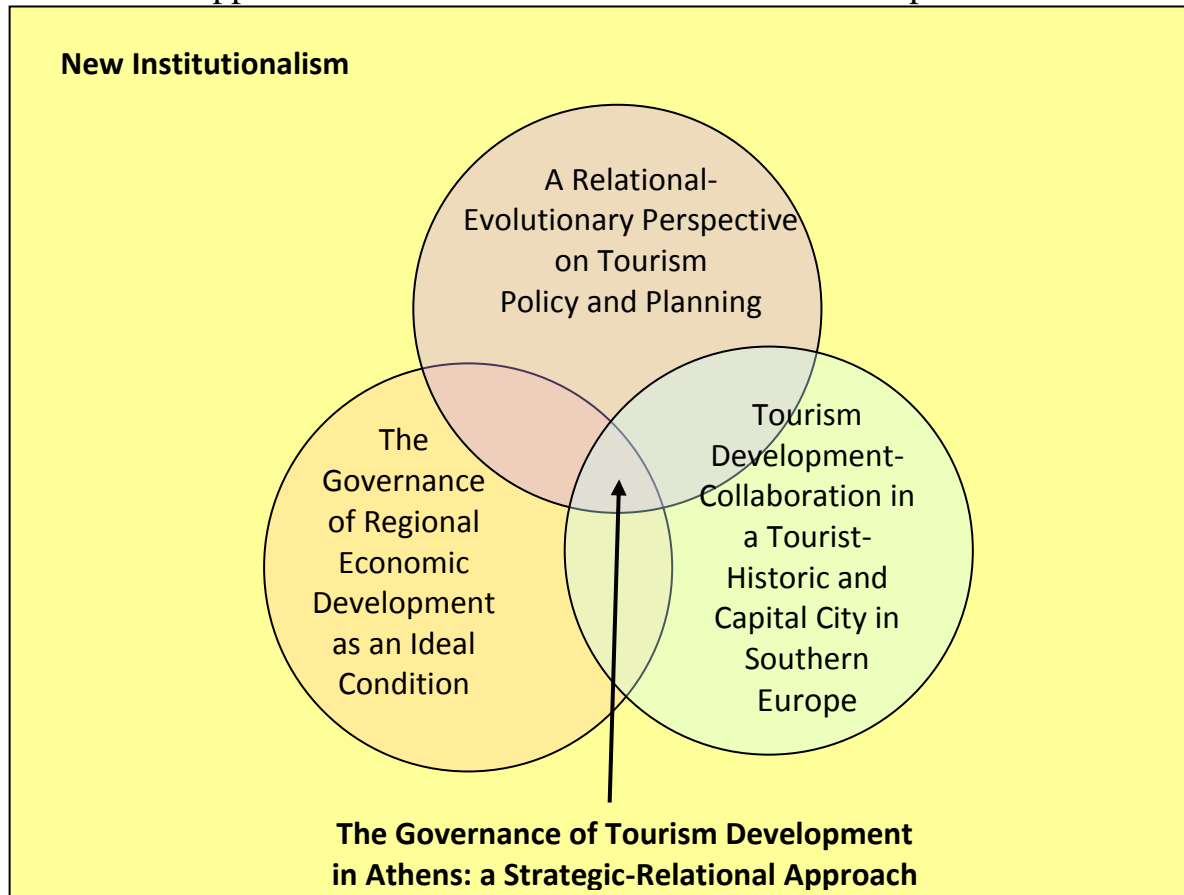
In the last two decades, tourism research has welcomed progress on debates concerning the forms through which the state and civil society develop relationships to promote their agendas and accomplish certain goals. From community participation (Murphy, 1988) and stakeholder theory (Sautter and Leissen, 1999) to inter-organisational relations (Jamal and Getz, 1995) and network analysis (Dredge and Pforr, 2008), scholars have employed various theoretical frameworks with the intention to elucidate the nature of government and interest group involvement in tourism development. As such, a study of tourism governance can potentially be seen as another contribution to the research area of tourism policy and planning. Concepts such as governance and collaboration broadly refer to and incorporate the ways in which individuals and organisations engage in harmonious working relationships. The thesis concentrates, however, on the institutional fabric of tourism politics in Athens without presuming the predominance of forces of consensus or tension (Bramwell and Lane, 2000a; Ashworth, 2003), coherence or incoherence (Jessop, 2001). The intention is to capture the essence and quality of tourism governance while investigating how the practices of central government agencies, regional-local governments, the private sector, and voluntary groups correspond to the conditions of the tourism policy-institutional context in question.

The topic of the thesis relates to a series of spatio-temporally specific particularities that render the case study of Athens interesting for a political analysis of tourism development. In considering the socio-political particularities of tourist-historic and capital cities in Southern Europe, this study focuses on urban tourism and examines the activities, structures and complex systems of interactions that constitute the governance of tourism development. The aim here is neither to prescribe the best possible mix of collaboration arrangements at the particular place nor to provide a disjointed description of events. Rather, this study draws upon concepts and themes of political science to inform the literature of tourism policy and planning and guide an institutional analysis of tourism governance in the city of Athens, which provides a rich context of tourism politics. Essentially, this thesis explores urban tourism politics at a rather unique conjuncture. A few years after the staging of the Olympic Games of 2004 expectations were high within the public sector and interest groups for the recovery of tourism in Athens after almost twenty years of low performance. On these grounds, the apparatus responsible for such an analysis needs some explanation. The thesis adopts a ‘Strategic-Relational Approach’ (SRA) (Jessop, 1990; 1996; 2001; 2002; 2005a; 2008b; 2009) for a first time in a study of tourism governance. The following sections provide further detail of how the SRA is utilised along with a summary of research aims and objectives, research methodology, and the contents and structure of the thesis.

1.2 Research Background and Research Aims-Objectives

Influenced by the theoretical core of ‘New Institutionalism’ (NI), this study uses the SRA as a conceptual framework to link description, theory, and explanation in the research area of tourism policy and planning (Hall and Jenkins, 2004) while enriching the same inquiry with perspectives and concepts of political science. Figure 1.1 illustrates how the intervention of the SRA emerges from a synthesis of empirical themes and theoretical components. The conception of regional economic governance as an ideal condition, in which policy networks along with other institutional arrangements and modes of coordination shape events and processes of socio-political life, derives from a dialectical view on the interplay of structure with agency in specific contexts. Insofar as diverse actors and institutions engage in iterative interactions and affect one another, their interplay is characterised by patterns of both harmony and conflict (Jessop, 1998; Hoff, 2003). As these patterns underlie the emergence and evolution of institutional arrangements, NI encourages researchers to scrutinize the path-dependent and path-shaping aspects of institutional configurations (Hay, 2002; Lowndes, 2001; Peters, 2005). The aim is to get insight into the nature of socio-political change, the ideas surrounding socio-political arenas, and the effects of power relations. This synthesis of ideas in the research of tourism policy and planning paves the way for an in-depth exploration of the evolution of tourism development and collaboration in Athens, an important tourist-historic and capital city in Southern Europe.

Figure 1.1: Empirical Themes and Theoretical Components Informing a Strategic-Relational Approach to the Governance of Tourism Development in Athens



The thesis argues that a relational-evolutionary perspective on the complex nature of tourism policy and planning can advance the status of institutional analysis in the field of tourism. Focusing on the structural coupling of formal and informal institutional expressions can enhance knowledge on the mediating role of contextual particularities from the micro to the meso and macro level of political analysis. Emphasis is required on the context-specific, yet dynamic interplay of material factors and ideas, in the sense of events and perceptions that inform interpretations of social world. In this study, not only does empirical evidence gathered during the fieldwork phase shed light on the origin and integration of contextual particularities, it also demonstrates how contextual particularities have a varying tendency to encourage and discourage collaborative relationships.

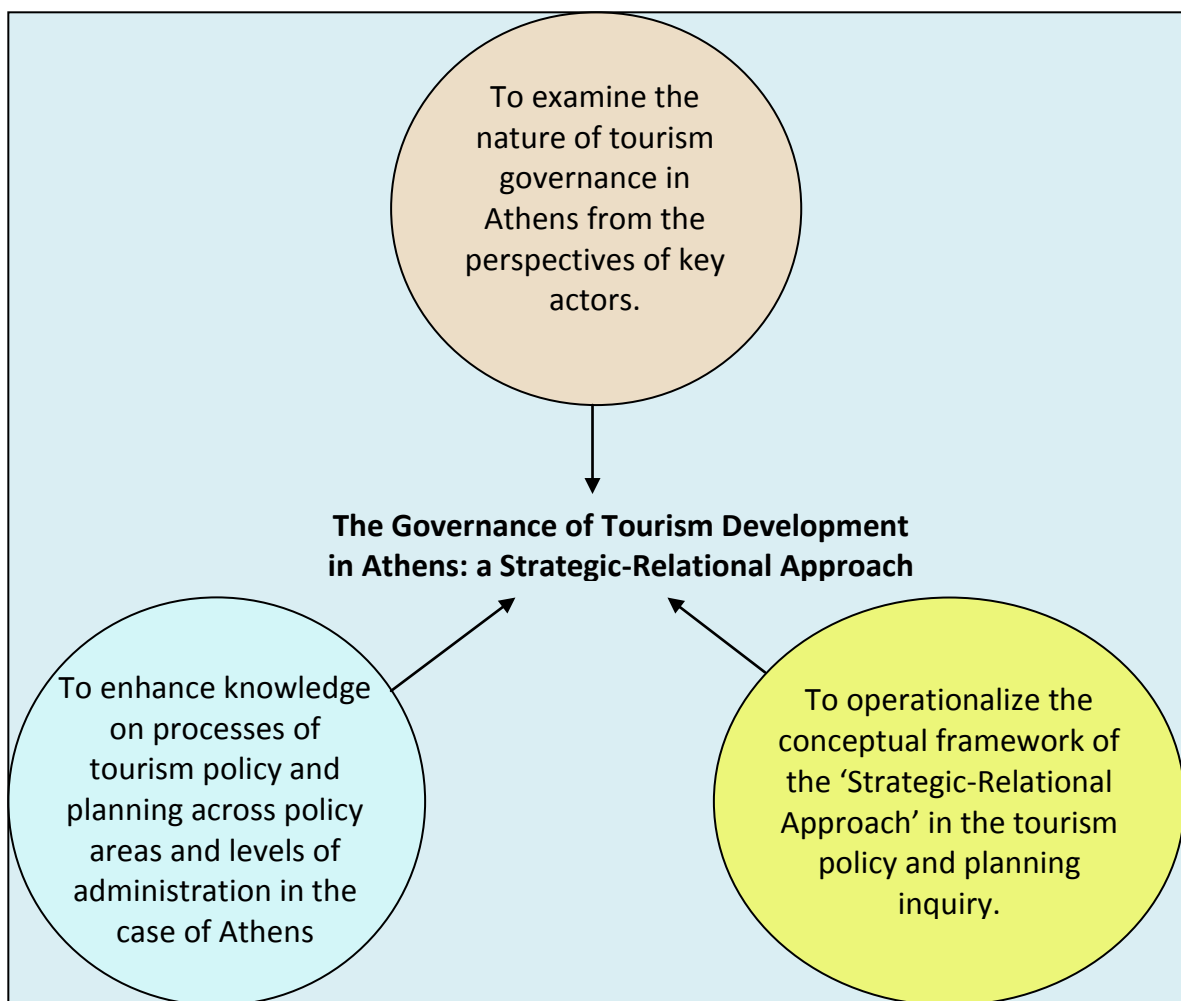
The relational-evolutionary perspective on institutions and behaviours adopted in this research contributes to knowledge on tourism collaboration in cities and elsewhere. Many cities and regions are, however, central spaces of socio-political struggle, where state and non-state actors assess and revise their roles in policy-making and democratic governance. This recognition has particular value in the centralised political arena of Southern Europe, where policy-making is not anymore a privilege of the public sector's active intervention in tourism (Apostolopoulos and Sonmez, 2001; Bramwell 2004a). As the traditional boundaries of state apparatus erode under the influence of pervasive forces, attention turns to the quality of horizontal and vertical interactions between various actors, tourism-related policy areas, and levels of administration (Andriotis, 2002; Asprogerakas, 2007; Buhalis, 2001; John, 2001; Rhodes, 1997; 2003).

Given the particularities of Athens as a tourism destination, this thesis introduces a novel conceptual framework in the research area of tourism policy and planning to substantiate the relational-evolutionary perspective on the governance of tourism development and interpret its reflection through a dialogue between empirical evidence and theory. As the SRA uses the concept of strategy to bring structure and agency together in a dialectical manner and explain their co-evolution, tourism governance in strategic-relational terms is conceived as:

“The complex art of steering multiple agencies, institutions, and systems, involved in the practices and processes {of tourism policy and planning}, which are operationally autonomous from one another and structurally coupled” (Thiel, 2009: 226, quoting Jessop, 1997).

My personal interest in the evolution of tourism development in Athens and ideas about the current operationalization¹ of the SRA inform the articulation of research aims in Figure 1.2. They also form the basis for the development of the study's objectives in Box 1.1 through a series of propositions in relation to “a *strategic-relational or critical dialectical approach to local economic development*” (Jessop and Hay, 1995: 10).

Figure 1.2: Research Aims



¹ According to the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, operationalization is “the transformation of an abstract, empirical concept into something concrete, observable, and measurable in an empirical research project”. Source: <http://www.enotes.com/oxsoc-encyclopedia/operational-definition>

Box 1.1: The Operationalization of the Strategic-Relational Approach to the Governance of Tourism Development in Athens

Questions that inform a 'Strategic-Relational Approach' to local economic development

- What is the nature of the structurally inscribed, strategically selective context inhabited by local 'movers and shakers' and 'cowerers' and 'quakers'?
- How is this context changing?
- How do such actors and organizations understand the strategically selective context?
- How do such conceptions arise and how they are transformed – from where do good ideas originate?
- How do they understand the processes of change they identify?
- What strategic capacities do they enjoy? Are they context-takers or context-makers?
- How do they formulate strategy on the basis of such projected changes? and
- How, and to what extent, do such actors and organizations engage in strategic/organizational learning?

Source: Hay and Jessop
(1995: 10)

Objectives that guide a 'Strategic-Relational Approach' to the governance of tourism development in Athens

Actors of Tourism Development

- To identify groups of actors, which impact on the processes of tourism policy and planning.
- To understand what actors have the lion's share in initiatives for tourism development in Athens and what factors influence the capacities of other actors to get engaged actively with these processes.
- To scrutinize the roles of the administrative levels of the state and unravel all actors' perceptions about the contribution of public authorities to tourism development in Athens.
- To explore whether there is consensus among actors regarding the priorities and agendas of tourism development in Athens without, however, focusing exclusively on economic aspects.

The Policy-Institutional Context of Tourism Development

- To understand the nature of tourism development in Athens and the impact of relevant policies and institutions.
- To shed light on the nature of institutional arrangements and the impact they have on tourism policy and planning.

Issues of Collaboration and Networking

- To outline the networks of relationships among the groups of actors with an impact on tourism development.
- To investigate whether and how actors modify their strategies and alliances in order to improve anticipating results, and how they assess their capacities to adapt.

Future of Tourism Development and Collaboration

- To scrutinize the opportunities and barriers for strengthening relationships among the groups of actors with an impact on tourism development in Athens.
- To discuss the existence of a vision regarding tourism development in Athens and the potential for strengthening collaboration.

1.3 Research Methodology

Philosophical and practical issues have shaped the research design of the thesis. A philosophical position between the inquiry paradigms of critical realism and constructivism underlies the tendency of the SRA to view the interplay of structure with agency running in parallel with the interplay of ideational and material factors (Hay, 2002). Through its overt focus on the catalytic role of ideas and experiences at the empirical level of critical realist ontology, in terms of the interpretations of events and deep processes provided by both the researched and the researcher, the SRA underpins the use of qualitative methodology and adds a hermeneutic function in the conduct of a single case study. In order to allow for an in depth investigation of tourism politics in Athens, the thesis is based on empirical evidence from documentary sources and data emerged from semi-structured interviews. Information from policy documents and legislation is thus combined with interview accounts of the values and perceptions of various actors.

1.4 Contents and Structure of the Thesis

This section discusses the structure of the thesis. The thesis is divided between literature review, methodology, the presentation of research findings, and the synthesis of empirical and theoretical conclusions. Chapters Two and Three comprise a review of literature that contributes to the introduction and integration of themes and concepts of political science into the research area of tourism policy and planning. In Chapter Two, issues of institutional analysis influenced by the New Institutional paradigm are presented along with implications from the conception of regional economic governance as an ideal

condition. This is the theoretical background upon which Chapter Two also outlines the dialectical perspective of the SRA on the interplay of structure and agency along with the role it plays in the institutional analysis of regional governance, policy networks, and power. Chapter Three builds on these themes and recommends an inclusive, context-specific, and dynamic conception of institutional arrangements in tourism politics. In the same chapter, it is proposed that a relational-evolutionary perspective is essential to understanding the complex and changing processes of tourism policy and planning. Furthermore, an explanation of how contemporary accounts of institutional analysis have the potential to advance scholarship on tourism collaboration and power is given. On these grounds, Chapter Three justifies the operationalization of the SRA to the study of tourism governance in Athens before it concludes with a presentation of the research setting.

The methodology for this research is discussed in Chapter Four, which focuses on both philosophical issues and practical decisions related to the conduct of qualitative research in tourism policy and planning. The discussion is framed around the ‘critical realist-thin constructivist’ foundations of the SRA. The first part considers the current state of political studies of tourism. Moreover, the second part provides a reflexive account of the issues that have shaped the overall research design including the collection and analysis of empirical evidence through documentary sources and semi-structured interviews.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven present empirical findings from the case study of Athens and lead to the interpretive intervention of the SRA in Chapter Eight. Chapter Five discusses the ways in which various groups of actors including central government agencies, regional-local authorities, tourism-traders associations, and voluntary groups are

involved in tourism development in Athens. Chapter Six is mainly concerned with policies and institutional arrangements in the policy areas of land-use planning and tourism product development. These policy areas are discussed as indicative examples of the complexity and challenges surrounding tourism policy-making and implementation. Attention is drawn to the evolution of the policy-institutional context, the nature and synthesis of interrelationships across policy areas and levels of administration, and the actors' perceptions about the performance of tourism policy and planning over time. Chapter Seven is about facts and events that occurred right before or during the period of my fieldwork based on evidence mainly from interviews. This chapter is principally seen as a reflection of whether the Olympic legacy of 2004, in terms of contemporary infrastructure and an internationally appealing image, stimulated a vision for tourism development in Athens and had a positive impact on consensus building and planning initiatives. The main themes and ideas of the previous three chapters are used in Chapter Eight to guide the operationalization of the SRA to tourism governance. The result here is an interpretation whereby theory-informed conclusions are drawn about the behavioural patterns of state and non-state actors and the contribution of institutional arrangements to coordination.

Finally, the concluding chapter revisits case study findings to reflect on the thesis aims, provide answers to the study's objectives, and discuss theoretical and practical implications. Chapter Nine summarises key points from research findings and considers implications for the governance of tourism development in Athens in light of recent developments in the economic and socio-political environment in Greece. The thesis ends with an appraisal of the first operationalization of the SRA in the research area of tourism policy and planning.

Chapter Two: A Strategic-Relational Approach to Institutional Analysis and the Governance of Regional Economic Development

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore theoretical perspectives of political science that inform the study of regional governance. The aim is to pave the way for an institutional analysis of tourism governance in Athens. This chapter also introduces the ‘Strategic-Relational Approach’ (SRA) as a conceptual framework² for guiding the later analysis of tourism governance. Given that the SRA provides explanatory depth in the narratives of structures and events, the current discussion deviates from normative accounts in policy inquiry. Through an examination of the literature on institutional analysis, it traces the ways in which actors and structures embedded at different scales interact, co-evolve, and shape regional economic development. Hence, the employment of SRA corresponds to the idea of an institutional turn in the research of tourism policy and planning while attempting to link description, theory, and explanation (Hall and Jenkins, 2004).

In summary, this chapter explicates the relation of the SRA to the paradigm of ‘New Institutionalism’ (NI) and the study of regional economic governance. Firstly, it attempts to frame institutional analysis around a series of theoretical guidelines. Secondly, it examines the contribution of NI to the study of politics, and discusses its common ground with contemporary connotations of the structure-agency debate. Thirdly, the SRA is

² A conceptual framework equips political scientists with “*a language and frame of reference through which reality can be examined and lead theorists to ask questions that might not otherwise occur*” (Stoker and Wolman, 1995: 3).

presented as an alternative avenue to institutional analysis whereby advanced conceptions of power relations and policy networks set the foundations for a holistic analysis of tourism governance.

2.2 Institutional Turns and Guidelines in Institutional Analysis

Jessop (2001) identifies three forms of institutional turns which indicate potential benefits from the employment of institutional analysis in the social sciences. According to the thematic and methodological turns, institutional aspects should not be ignored among the key themes of social inquiry, and could provide a promising – or even the most adequate – entry point for scrutinizing and interpreting the social world. The third form of the ontological turn tends to regard institutions as “*the essential foundations of social existence*” (Jessop, 2001: 1214). However, Jessop clarifies that “*whether or not there is value added in an institutional turn depends on one’s trajectory or location beforehand and the context in which institutions are said to matter*” (2001: 1219).

The Case of an Institutional Turn in the Tourism Policy and Planning Inquiry

Gauging the research field in which institutional analysis is believed to matter and the researcher’s intellectual background, an intriguing aspect of this study draws attention to my earlier unfamiliarity with political science. On a personal note, I love history and am coming from a country where micro-politics, in terms of developing the ‘right’ contacts that will help you sort out your public affairs, is a notoriously frustrating custom. Yet, I had always had only a basic acquaintance with the concepts of political science during my

undergraduate degree in the management of tourism enterprises and the MSc course in tourism development. To proceed, under these circumstances, with an institutional analysis of tourism development and collaboration in Athens, especially when institutions have remained relatively under-researched in the tourism policy and planning inquiry (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a; Kerr, 2003), may suggest either a methodological adjustment or an endeavour to bridge particular gaps within this research field. For Jessop (2001), however, undertaking an institutional turn presupposes equal work in defining, locating in space and time, and thematizing institutions to make them less abstract and vague. Hence, this study is informed by the methodological developments of Wood and Valler (2001) in Box 2.1 as meaningful guidelines for interrogating institutions in the current research topic.

Box 2.1: Methodological Developments in Institutional Analysis

Guidelines in Institutional Analysis

In studying regional and local economic governance, Wood and Valler (2004) have criticised the lack of in-depth accounts of the difference that institutional analysis makes. In an earlier paper, the same authors addressed themselves to five methodological developments in institutionalist work as *“a significant advance in understanding institutions and the relationship between institutional dynamics and local and regional economic development”* (Wood and Valler, 2001: 141).

Defining Institutions

The first methodological development is tied up with the need to define institutions and contest the equation of institutions with organizations. This thesis focuses on formal and informal patterns of behaviours and practices in tourism politics. It also examines the spatio-temporal features of institutions as key factors behind the varying articulation of power relations among localities, socio-political traditions, cultural values, and junctures (Bathelt and Gluckert 2003; Bevir, 2003; Gualini, 2002; Healey, 2006; Lowndes 2002; 2008; Martin, 2000). In Jessop’s words:

“Institutions emerge in specific places and at specific times, operate on one or more particular scales and with specific temporal horizons of action, develop their own specific capacities to stretch social relations and/to compress events in space and time, and, in consequence, have their own specific spatial and temporal myths” (2008b: 215).

Considering the Inter-Subjective Nature of Institutions

The second, third and fourth methodological developments focus on the constituent parts of regional governance. They respectively stress the necessity of a comprehensive exploration of institutional ensembles and regulatory networks, the ways in which these collective conventions influence economic practices and relations, and the processes behind the formation and performance of institutions (Wood and Valler, 2001).

Issues of governance and institutionalization relate to the inter-subjective nature of institutions (Hay, 2002). The reason is the co-constitutive relationship in the processes through which actors and institutions affect one another (Lister and Marsh, 2005; Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1995; Peters and Pierre, 1998; Peters, 2005). In relational terms, human action is *“embedded in structures of ongoing social relations”* (Bathelt and Gluckert 2003: 125), while institutions *“emerge out of social interaction”* (Cumbers *et al.*, 2003: 327). These iterative interactions are also dependent on social meanings, which are attributed to institutions by those who seek either to reproduce or to convert the structures in question (Bevir, 2003; Hall and Taylor, 1996; Jessop, 2008b; Lister and Marsh, 2005). As institutionalist work tends to be more issue-, space- and time-dependent, relevant studies need to maintain their focus without diminishing the range of empirical sources. This study investigates how tourism actors in Athens perceive and interact with the respective context while taking into account the wider socio-political environment and conjuncture a few years after the staging of the Olympic Games of 2004. Therefore, the nature and embedded peculiarities of tourism governance are assessed without segregating the exploration and analysis of actions from the context where they belong and the perceptions surrounding the same context.

Pondering over the Co-Evolution of Institutions and Perceptions

The final methodological development ponders over the co-evolution and overlap of institutional processes and people’s values in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. When the political scientist has readily transcended conceptions of self-governing institutions and understood institutionalization as the cumulative effect of dynamic processes, open to change and transformation, more attention is required to *“the structural coupling and co-evolution of institutions as well as to the attendant problems of their strategic coordination and guidance”* (Jessop, 2001: 1221). The forms of institutional expression are considered outcomes of historical developments and future contingencies. However, the relational view on interactions among/between actors and structures also captures the *“multiple scales at which the processes shaping institutions are constituted”* (Wood and Valler, 2001: 1141). To figure out the nature of tourism governance in Athens, this study explores the historical background of urban and tourism planning in Greece along with the configuration of tourism-related policy practices across levels of administration. Yet, Rhodes (1997) has questioned whether it is always wise to let facts speak for themselves in institutionalist work without the help of theory.

The Role of Theory in Institutional Analysis

For researchers who concur with the methodological developments of Wood and Valler, the idea that “*governance is produced in and through institutions*” (Goodwin and Painter, 1997: 22) requires more than observation-driven assumptions about the ‘natural’ way of doing politics (Healey *et al.*, 2002a; Hay, 2002). As well as comprehending the relational view on the formation and co-evolution of institutions, which are seen as the products of iterative practices and interactions informed by human ideas and intentions (Bevir, 2003; Boggs and Rantisi, 2003; Healey *et al.*, 2002a), institutional analysis needs to deal with political change (Pierre *et al.*, 2008). Because of the interpretive nature of political science, where “*no theory is ever true, it is only more or less instructive*” (Rhodes, 1997: 80) and narratives “*construct explanations rooted in individual beliefs and actions*” (Rhodes, 2003: 64), the complexity of institutional analysis inevitably has an impact on the study of regional governance. Although theory cannot predict or model the bewildering institutional reality, it can draw in an abstract manner upon empirical information and attribute key traits and phases to the evolution and transformation of institutions (Hay, 2002). To reflect on the contemporary role of theory in political science this thesis operationalizes the conceptual framework of SRA in studying tourism governance. In terms of a dialogue between theory and evidence, theory is seen as a “*guide to empirical exploration*” that “*sensitises the analyst to the causal processes being elucidated, selecting from the rich complexity of events the underlying mechanisms and processes of change*” (Hay, 2002: 47). The origins of this standpoint can be traced to the paradigm of NI, which also promotes a relational view on institutions. The next section sheds light on this sensitive point, and paves the way for the subsequent introduction to the SRA.

2.3 The Contribution of the New Institutionalism to the Study of Politics

Focusing on the collective roots of political behaviour, the paradigm of NI has variously advanced the study of politics from the early 1980s onwards as an idea that “*the organization of political life makes a difference*” (March and Olsen, 1984: 747). Institutions are no longer equated with organisations. Alongside templates of formal arrangements shaping political life, NI captures the varieties of informal conventions. The systematic examination of the rules of the game, cultural values, and other deep structures is believed it can unveil the essence of political life (Hall and Taylor, 1996; Ingraham *et al.*, 20008; Lowndes, 1996; 2001; 2002). Goodin (1996: 22) broadly refers to institutions as “*stable, recurring, repetitive patterns of behaviour*”. Moreover, Jessop (2008b: 214) views institutions as social practices that “*are regularly and continuously repeated, linked to defined roles and social relations, sanctioned and maintained by social norms and highly significant in the overall social structure*”. Both these fairly inclusive definitions imply that the institutionalization of political life could be based on the uninterrupted reproduction of identical arrangements. In a world of little stability, however, any static conception of institutions may reflect a political utopia.

A Dynamic Conception of Institutions

By moving beyond the dichotomy between structure and agency, NI has updated intellectual thinking on how to conceptualise institutions (see Appendix A). For instance, Peters (2005) argues that NI is not reductionist. It does not neglect collective action and the impact of embedded social structures on individual agents while conceiving political

life as the outcome of reciprocal interactions between individuals, collectivities, and the wider environment. NI is also believed to be neither utilitarian nor strictly contextual. The ongoing pursuit of individuals and groups to accommodate the self-interest every time is ascribed to specific political and economic arenas. Yet, NI broadens the interrogation of political and economic phenomena. It makes sense of a society in which groups of actors are also driven by their values and ideas. Surrounded by the diverse and often conflicting agendas and aspirations of state and non-state actors, activities are perceived as “*socially and institutionally situated*” (Martin, 2000: 79; cf. Boyer and Hollingsworth, 1997a; 1997b;). Thus, the specificity of each context in institutional analysis must not be associated with a static conception of institutions. Rather, institutions can be seen as “*islands of order*”, where diverse arrangements continuously shape and are shaped by numerous actors, in a “*sea of disorder*” (Hoff, 2003: 47).

A Dynamic Understanding of Space and Time

The dynamic conception of institutions is related to a dynamic understanding of space and time. The institutional turn in political science surfaced along with an institutional-relational turn in economic geography (Amin, 1999; 2001; Jones, 2001; Yeung, 2005). Among academics emphasis is placed on the position of regions and localities in an increasingly globalized economy as well as on the influence of socio-political aspects and their institutional expressions to regional-local economic growth. Gualini (2006) concurs with Coaffee and Healey (2006), when the latter note that collective action moves between and across the various spheres of social life. Gualini adds, however, that political scientists need to explore the organization of collective action and institutional anatomy

not only “*within or at a defined scale*” but also “*across and among scales*” (Gualini, 2006: 896; cf Amin, 2001). Accordingly, Wood and Valler (2001: 1141) consider the geographical spread of institutional construction relevant to “*a view that sees institutions themselves as multiply scaled*”. Indeed, debates of scale have updated institutional interpretations of space while illustrating the geographical dynamics of social relations (Brenner, 2001; 2004; Collinge, 1999; 2005; Jones, 2001; Macleod and Goodwin, 1999; Martin *et al.*, 2003).

Progress in scrutinizing the spatial organization of institutions has prompted similar endeavours in interpretations of institutional change. To posit that the institutional analysis of regional governance can excel without an investigation of temporal factors is to assume that capitalism is insusceptible to the influence of instances and events (Boyer and Hollingsworth, 1997a; 1997b; Hay, 2002). Regulation theory constitutes a well-known analytical approach to institutional change³. The mode of regulation has described the integration of socio-political institutions and practices, which mediate and sustain the reproduction of capital accumulation. The transition from one set of macroeconomic relations to another has underpinned accounts of the changing nature of capitalism, and illustrated interdependences between economic and socio-political change. Among various points of criticism, however, it has also been questioned the capacity of regulation theory to avoid over-generalizations and embrace the magnitude of “*local political dynamics (...) through which global economic dynamics are filtered before they become reflected in local economic and political developments*” (Hay, 1995b: 394). Allied to this theme, John (2001) questions the application of regulation theory in studies of local

³ See informative overviews by Boyer (2002), Goodwin *et al.*, (1993), Hay (1995b), Jessop (1997), Lauria (1997), Le Gales (1998), see also a detailed discussion of major criticisms by Painter (1995: 288-292).

economic governance in Southern-European countries because of their different economic and socio-political trajectories to Northern-European countries. It is understood that any account of institutional change, in terms of capturing the essence of alterations in “*the highly-interactive and mutually-constitutive character of the relationship between institutions and individual action*” (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 15), cannot be spatio-temporally isolated from the path-dependent features of the context under consideration.

Path-Dependence, Path-Shaping and the Contextualised Blend of Structure with Agency

As NI demonstrates a genuine interest in the cultural aspects and multiple scales of institutional anatomy, Hay (2002) argues the very nature of institutional contexts stems from history, timing, and sequence. Path-dependence does not imply either a functionalist perspective on history or a linear and untroubled conception of temporal factors in institutional change (Lowndes, 2001; Peters, 2005). Instead, NI prioritizes the embeddedness of institutional arrangements, practices, and relations without neglecting the ways in which “*yesterday’s decisions, actions, and interactions enable and constrain the context of today’s actions*” (Bathelt and Gluckler, 2003: 128). The respective capacity of path-dependence to shape future trajectories is subject to contingency, because history “*does not condemn actors to endless repetition*” (Jessop, 2005a: 52). However, the key point in the concepts of embeddedness, path-dependence, and path-shaping is that they provide insight into the core and transformation of institutional contexts. As the contextualised blend of structure with agency represents how structural opportunities and constraints impact on and are constructed by actors’ activities (Amin, 2001; Boggs and Rantisi, 2003; Healey, 2006; Hoff, 2003), the next section demonstrates how the SRA provides a dialectical interpretation of the contextualised blend.

2.4. Structure Vs Agency and the Strategic-Relational Approach

Especially during the last three decades, the treatment of structure and agency as inseparable elements has led to great debates among social and political scientists. Owing much to significant schools of Marxist thought, dialectical thinking primarily focuses on “*the understanding of processes, flows, fluxes, and relations*” as opposed to “*the understanding of elements, things, structures, and organized systems*” (Harvey, 1995: 4). The dialectical analysis of social relations departs from interpretations of social life which overestimate either the impact that the social environment has upon individuals (Structuralism) or the capacity of individuals to realise their intentions regardless of structural conditions (Intentionalism) (Barley and Tolbrert, 1997; Hay, 2002; Healey, 2006; McAnulla, 2002; Peters and Pierre, 1998)

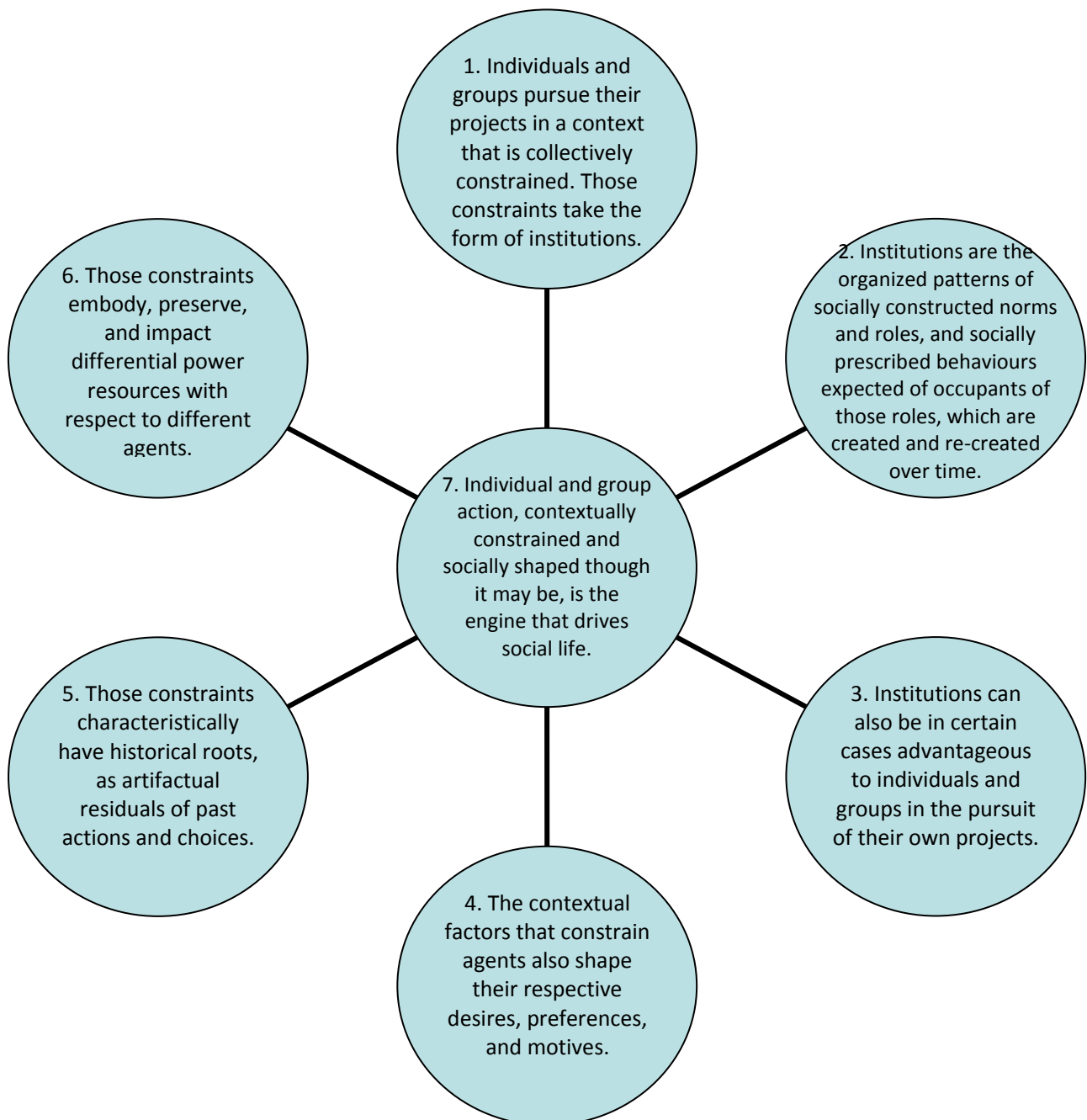
Structuration Theory

One effort to transcend the dichotomy between accounts of structure and agency was made by structuration theory (Giddens, 1984; 1990). The dualism is replaced here by a duality in which Giddens contemplates structure and agency as two sides of the same coin, mutually dependent and constitutive. Situated among diverse socio-cultural contexts, agents consciously attempt to pursue their goals while making sense of their identities through webs of social relations, rules and resources (Hay, 2002). Insofar as these webs exercise both restraining and encouraging forces upon actors⁴, structuration theory lies at the heart of NI. Institutions are seen as socially and culturally embedded in space and

⁴ Hence, Healey acknowledges, “*Giddens realises Marx’s idea that we make history but not in circumstances of our own choosing*” (2006: 46).

time, which is a key response to the challenges of functionalism and instrumentalism. In this sense, Figure 2.1 shows how structuration theory coincides with the propositions of Goodin (1996) for the conceptual articulation of social action in NI.

Figure 2.1: Propositions for the Articulation of
Social Action in New Institutionalism



Source: Based on Goodin (1996: 19-20)

Structuration theory has not avoided objections, although Giddens (1984) attempts to differentiate himself from sociological structuralists and sees structure as ‘rules’ and resources that guide human agency and the reproduction of social practices in a systemic form. McAnulla (2002) believes Giddens conflates structure and agency to a point where their individual properties are lost, distinction between them becomes futile, and empirical application is impossible⁵. Other scholars criticize the way structuration theory brackets the elements of the structure-agency interplay at each conjuncture rather than capturing their dynamic co-evolution. Jessop believes that Giddens views structural transformations not as the consequence of the actors’ capacities to act in one way instead of another over time, but as the result of “*unintended consequences of social action and inaction*” (2005a: 45). Barley and Tolbert are eloquent, however, in their support for “*a more dynamic model {in institutional analysis} that links action to the maintenance and change of an institution and that provides a framework for empirical research*” (1997: 100).

The Rationale of the SRA

An alternative dialectical expression of the structure-agency debate is the SRA⁶, which is especially relevant to political science⁷. Influenced by the tradition of critical realism,

⁵ From another perspective, the image of the coin is also considered problematic. Researchers are able to comprehend only each of the sides of the coin at any given moment in a way that transcends the initial dualism only to end up with an artificial and more analytical dualism (Hay, 1995; 2002).

⁶ Jessop (1990; 1996; 2001; 2002; 2005a; 2008a; 2008b; 2009) and Hay (1995a; 1998; 2002; and Jessop, 1995)

⁷ The SRA has been an integral part of Jessop’s work on theorizing the state from the 1980s onwards. For Jessop, the state can be seen as an institutional ensemble whose orientations political forces hope to harness when they develop their political strategies and social relations. Jessop himself admits that the gradual and at first unexpected prominence of the SRA is probably the most enchanting aftermath of his continuous and still unfinished project: “*to write a theoretically informed critical history of the changing political economy of post-war Britain and to put the transformation of the British state into its broad economic, political, and socio-cultural context*” (2008a: 12)...

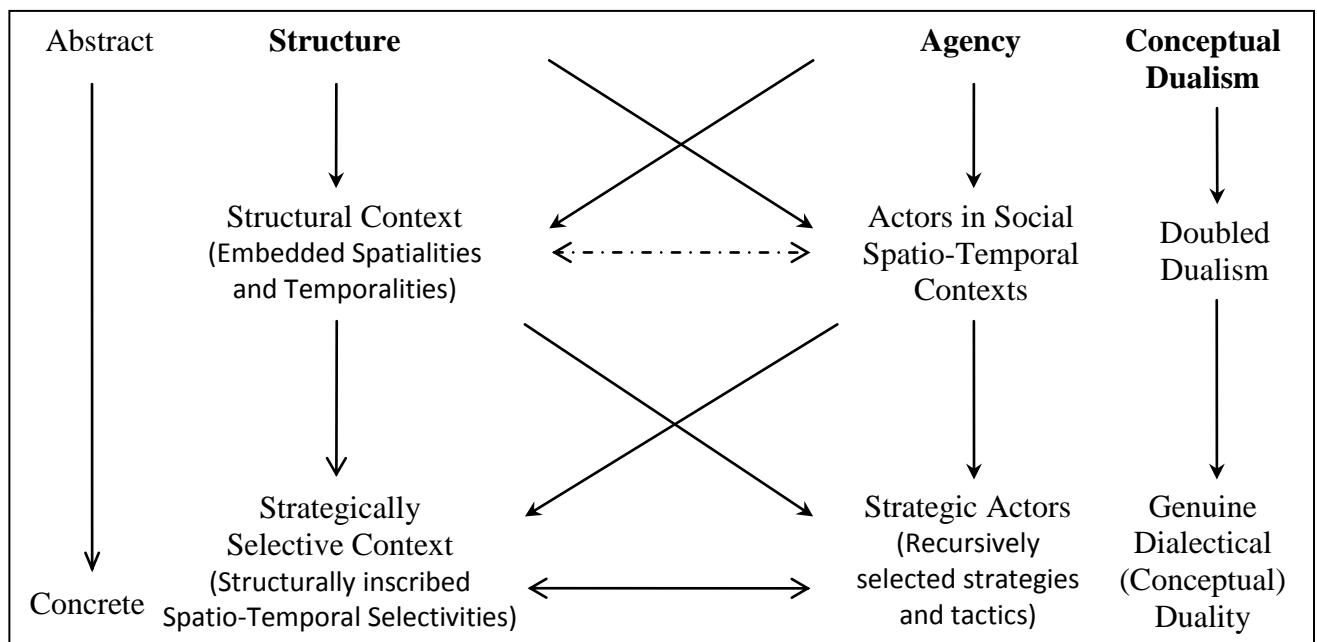
which “*accounts for the context-specificity in human action*” and “*establishes a contextual (causal) explanation based on the principle of contingency*” (Bathelt and Gluckler, 2003: 126-127), the SRA focuses on the dynamic aspects of the relation between structure and agency. These are not regarded anymore as the two sides of the same coin. Instead, the SRA views their interaction as “*not reducible to the sum of structural and agential factors treated separately*” (Hay 2002: 127). Jessop (1996) notes that by discerning the mutual constitution of structure and agency and relating dialectically the two concepts, political scientists can move from the conceptual dualism of structuration theory to a genuine duality. This dialectical conception of the co-existence and interdependence of structure and agency encourages researchers to contemplate the evolution of economic and socio-political mechanisms and practices through the path-dependent and path-shaping (contingent) attributes of specific (and well-defined) spatio-temporal contexts. For the current study, thus, tourism politics in Athens in terms of policies, institutions, and initiatives on behalf of various organizations are seen as a corollary of past events and the engine of future developments.

To comprehend the blending of structure and agency, attention must be drawn to the concept of strategy. The SRA asserts that action is always undertaken within a pre-existing structured context. Thus, by bringing agency into structure political scientists

... On these grounds, the SRA as a piece of theoretical work has acquired a life of its own and been employed by other scholars for the interrogation of political economy themes beyond the initial theorisation of the state. This contribution is basically associated with the theoretical interrogation of institutions, policy networks, national and regional politics, and the dialectic of structure and agency (Brenner, 2004; Hay, 1995a; 1998; 2002; Jessop, 1996; 2001; 2008a; 2008b; Kelly, 1999; Lagendijk, 2007; McAnulla, 2002). There is also a string of empirical studies of regional and local economic governance. The thematic areas of these studies vary from the implementation of plans for the construction of transport infrastructure in India (Chettiparamb, 2007) and environmental policy in Portugal (Thiel, 2005; 2009) to devolution and economic governance in the UK and Australia (Goodwin *et al.*, 2005; 2006; Hay and Jessop, 1995; Kitagawa, 2004; McGuirk, 2004; Pemberton and Goodwin, 2010; Valler and Wood, 2004).

need to make reference to a structured context, while by bringing structure into agency they need to make reference to a contextualised actor. The duality of structure and agency, however, can be conceptualised when a series of conjunctures is taken into account (Hay, 2002). On the one hand, the structures of each context tend to encourage specific paths of actions and hinder others at each juncture. This is a strategically selective context which impacts on but never entirely determines the articulation of strategies and tactics at a given moment. The reason is that each strategically selective context does not entail identical opportunities and constraints for the numerous actors. On the other hand, actors are more or less strategic. They reflexively articulate their strategies and tactics according to their action capacities and partial knowledge about structural selectivities. *“The key relationship in the strategic-relational approach then, is not that between structure and agency, but rather the most immediate interactions of strategic actors and the (spatio-temporal) strategic context in which they find themselves”* (Hay, 2002: 128). The transition from conceptual dualism to conceptual duality is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: From Dualism to Duality – The Strategic-Relational Approach



Source: Based on Hay (2002: 128) and Jessop (2001: 1228)

Against structuration theory, the added value of the SRA lies in the interpretation of the evolutionary interplay. The formulation and implementation of strategic action is considered the outcome of calculation on behalf of actors of the opportunities and constraints inscribed in the strategically selective context. This calculation stems from the perceptions of actors about the context and the ways through which they are going to fulfil their targets within the context. Strategic action can be the product of volitional calculation. It is then observed “*an overt and conscious attempt to identify options most likely to realise intentions and objectives*”. However, strategic action can also be the reflection of routine and habitual practices, mainly grounded on intuition and on (more or less) precise ideas about the context, the intentions of other actors, and the outcomes of potential actions (Hay, 2002: 132-133). Alongside deliberate efforts to achieve objectives, even purely intuitive actions are believed to incorporate an inherently strategic element.

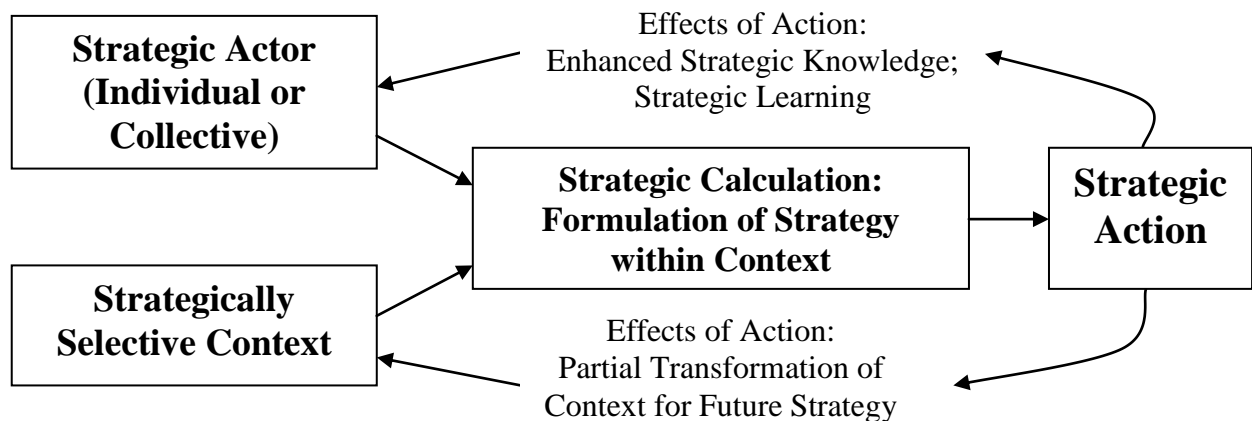
The key point here, nonetheless, is that the SRA enables a dialectical overview of the interplay of material factors with the realm of ideas alongside the structure-agency dialectic. Regardless of how explicit or implicit (and favourable or discouraging) are the spatio-temporal selectivities of each context, actors count on their own perceptions to accurately assess these selectivities, formulate adequate strategy, and maximize benefits from the mobilisation of resources. The later discussion in Chapter Four reveals this perspective places the SRA between critical realist and (thin) constructivist foundations in the social sciences. For the current discussion, however, the interpretive capacity of the SRA to explain the evolution and transformation of socio-political material requires an account of the impact ideational factors have on these processes. The conversion of strategic calculation to strategic action may result in two kinds of effects, which conclude the stages and concepts of the SRA in Figure 2.3.

First, the SRA does not prescribe the kind of effects (intended or unintended) that should be expected when individuals and organizations activate their strategies. It merely anticipates and presumes a partial but only marginal transformation of the structured context. This transformation can possibly differ from what actors had in mind to stimulate and achieve when strategic actions were prepared. According to Jessop (1996), actions can produce desirable results only when they take place within tight time frames. Given the contingent nature of socio-political events and processes, the SRA is rendered incompatible with functionalist accounts of history. What the SRA does is to scrutinize the path-dependent and path-shaping attributes of specific socio-political contexts and dig into the pattern of institutional change.

Second, actors should reasonably examine the consequences of their actions and get involved in strategic learning about their own capacities and the context itself. Only when actors start learning from both their successes and failures, will they be able to differentiate their strategic actions according to enhanced strategic knowledge⁸. Emphasis is placed upon the formulation of strategic action through imperfect knowledge derived from a more or less incomplete picture of the plans and intentions of other actors and more or less accurate evaluations of strategic selectivities. Hence, *“the strategically selective context is also discursively selective in that it is accessed through perceptions, misperceptions and representations of the existing context”* (Hay, 1998: 44).

⁸ Unless actors are reflexive enough to calculate the opportunities and constraints of particular settings, learn from past experience and devote themselves to the better articulation of subsequent strategic actions, they may struggle to achieve their objectives in the long-run. Jessop believes that structured contexts and institutions entail different configurations of strategic selectivities for individuals and/or groups of actors, who maintain *“some freedom of manoeuvre to choose a path of action more or less skilfully and reflexively”* (2001: 1226).

Figure 2.3: Structure, Strategy and Agency in the Strategic-Relational Approach



Source: Hay (2002: 131)

Given the competition among actors and their varying capacities to make sense of structural selectivities, the transformation of each context after strategic action is only minimal. Jessop (2001) calls ‘structured coherence’ the repetition or stabilization of a configuration of structures and selectivities whereby it is encouraged the formulation of actions that guarantee the longevity of the particular configuration. The opposite scenario of ‘patterned incoherence’ emerges when systematic contradictions mark the interplay of structure and agency, and hinder the establishment of a ‘relatively stable order’ (Jessop, 2001: 1225). In both cases, however, “*since structures cannot guarantee their self-reproduction but only privilege some strategies and actors over others, there is always scope for actions to overflow or circumvent structural constraints*” (Jessop, 2005a: 51). The SRA implies that the world won’t change, unless actors are determined and skilful enough to reflect on experience and the contexts in which they posit themselves. Part of this indeterministic thinking is the belief that the more reflexive actors can be the more difficult becomes for contexts to incubate their self-identical recurrence (Lagendijk, 2007). Thus, “*the future remains pregnant with a surplus of possibilities*” (Jessop, 2005a: 53), and reflexivity is upgraded to a key aspect in accounts of socio-political change.

Implications of Adopting a Strategic-Relational Approach to Institutions

In ‘Strategic-Relational’ terms, the association of relational concepts with institutional analysis underlies interpretations of socio-political change (Jessop, 2001; 2008b). First, the position of the SRA in the structure-agency debate corroborates the concern of NI about “*the role of agents in the constitution of the very contexts within which their political conduct occurs and acquires significance*” (Hay, 2002: 106). As “*institutions do not operate in a vacuum*” (Goodwin *et al.* (2006: 993), it is recommended that equal attention must be directed to relationships among different kinds of institutions, and the ways in which all together constitute institutional configurations.

Second, the SRA and NI concur with the spatio-temporal specificity and embeddedness of all actors and structures (and, as a consequence, of all institutions). The exploration of each and every aspect of the institutionalization process⁹ cannot be isolated from contextual idiosyncrasies. For Jessop (2001), such features shed light on the differences of institutional configurations, and explain how the historical legacies of institutions (path-dependence) shape their current form and operation as well as their future evolution (path-shaping). While the SRA sheds light on “*the organic relationship between structure and agency*” (Valler and Wood: 2004: 1852), however, it concentrates “*less on abstract theorising and more on the immediate concerns of specific structural and discursive constraints, together with the strategic calculation, action, and learning of individual actors and organisations*” (Valler and Wood: 2004: 1837). Along with the perceived spatio-temporal specificity of institutional contexts, the particular principles and phases of the SRA restore intellectual appeal of the performance of institutional configurations, the

⁹ i.e. the emergence, operation, transformation and evolution or even disappearance of institutions.

influence of cultural values, and interactions between territories and spatial levels (Chettiparamb, 2007; Hay, 2002; Goodwin *et al.*, 2005; 2006; Jessop, 2008a; Lagendijk, 2007; Valler and Wood, 2004).

A Relational Conception of Power

Adopting the SRA to institutions also presupposes a focus on the behavioural and emancipatory constituents of power¹⁰. The thesis goes one step towards Allen's disciplinary thinking while considering the necessity to "*distinguish clearly between the exercise of power and the resource capabilities mobilized to sustain that exercise*" (Allen, 2003: 5). This distinction is understood to be analytical rather than conceptual. For Few (2002), power is the amalgam of motives, tactics, and resources of different actors. From a slightly more normative perspective, Healey *et al.* (2003) identify power in institutional settings through the collective capacity of actors to work together and mobilize relational and knowledge resources for the sake of a common target. These approaches come closer to Allen's (2003: 105) understanding of resources as "*the media through which power is exercised*". On these grounds, the concept of power is experienced through its covert and latent expressions, when rather than an observable exercise of power "*issues are ignored or marginalized by those centrally involved in urban political processes*" (Thomas and Thomas, 2005: 124). Moreover, not only is the mobilization of resources pertinent to the

¹⁰This is not to imply a direct departure from the fallacies of exercise and vehicle in relevant discourses (Morriss, 2002; cited in Coles and Church, 2007; 18 and Church and Coles, 2007; 275). The former is associated with the tendency of social scientists to study only the perceptible manifestations of power, and the latter is recorded whenever the examination of power is confined to the evaluation of the material elements that give rise to it. Yet, the later discussion shows that tourism scholars can still learn a lot from these fallacies, while they "*need to be pragmatic in the application of concepts and the recognition of (their) limitations as researchers*" (Church and Coles, 2007; 275).

perceptions and behavioural patterns of actors, but the articulation of power relations is entangled in spatio-temporally particular institutional settings, social interactions and historical developments (Allen, 2003; Few, 2002; Hoff, 2003; Smith, 1999).

What this study attempts is to see power as a “*relational*” attribute (Yeung, 2005: 45; emphasis on the original) and a “*relational effect of social interaction*” (Allen, 2003: 2). The key in these terms lies in the mobilization of resources and the outcomes and effects of social practices. Power is not solely concentrated and possessed by one actor or organization over another, but it is experienced through the capacity of actors to “*have an effect upon the structures which set contexts and define the range of possibilities of others*” (Hay, 1995a: 191). Conceptions of power based on the relation between institutional arenas and the strategies of actors are a relatively recent trend in political analysis (Few, 2002; Goverde and Van Tatenhove, 2000; Smith, 1999).

The SRA outlines, however, a more systematic conception of power while unfolding the dialectical interplay of strategic actors with strategically selective contexts. The scenario of the reproduction of structured coherence implies that each context favours and encourages specific behaviours and tactics. Nevertheless, there is always space for less privileged actors to fight. Apart from their relative prosperity in terms of diverse resources, much depends on the capacity of actors to reflect on past experience and enhance strategic calculation. The aim is to select an improved course of action and implement it within specific time frames (Jessop, 1996). Therefore, any repetitive demonstration or exercise of power infers the more accurate perception of the preferences of the strategically selective context. Hay (2002) argues that this perception helps actors exploit opportunities and overcome constraints. It is understood that the close

interrelationship between material and ideational factors has a substantial impact on the balance of power, with Pierre claiming: “*the structuring of governance – the inclusion or exclusion of different actors and the selection of instruments – is not value neutral but embedded in and sustains political values*” (1999: 390). Structured coherence and the structuring of governance appear not to be irrelevant with issues of political ideology and legitimacy, and the ways in which political and social values are sustained over time (Haugaard, 2000; Matthews and Richter, 1991). Hence, interactions between material factors and social meanings lay the foundations on which the following general idea of the SRA is grounded:

“The actual balance of power is determined post hoc through the interaction of the strategies or actions pursued by social forces within the limits imposed through the differential composition of structural constraints” (Jessop, 2008a: 44).

With the outcome of this interaction being considered recursively contingent from the perspectives of both structure and agency, the concept of strategy enables the identification of power in different behavioural patterns (Hay, 2002; McGuirk, 2004; Thiel, 2005). It can be either the crude display of direct coercive power (conduct-shaping), where certain actors get other actors to behave in a particular manner, or a more positive exercise of power (context-shaping). In the latter case, actors assess both the potential effects of various strategies and the capacities of other actors to outline a more effective course of action. Accordingly, Hay and Jessop (1995) appear to agree with Arts and Van Tatenhove (2004). Not only have these scholars assumed that power is about achieving policy goals on the basis of organizational resources and perceptions about outcomes. They have also clarified that power is not subsumed exclusively into zero-sum games, but involves the achievement of collective targets. Power games then, among

actors who possess resources and develop actions, are seen through the lenses of strategic orientations, institutional properties, and policy discourses. As the terms and rules of these games differ among socio-political contexts, Arts and Van Tatenhove underline the historical and social embeddedness of power. Consistent with a relational conception of power in institutional analysis, they put forward the following definition:

“Power is the organizational and discursive capacity of agencies, either in competition with one another or jointly, to achieve outcomes in social practices, a capacity which is however co-determined by the structural power of those social institutions in which agencies are embedded” (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004; 347).

What this definition encloses are the assumptions of NI about the spatio-temporal embeddedness and evolution of institutions. The same assumptions have lately influenced debates of urban and regional governance. In these debates, the configuration of economic and socio-political relations is seen as exhibiting patterns of inclusiveness, diversity, fluidity, fragmentation, and dispersal. The complex synthesis of modern politics has led McGuirk (2004: 1020) to suggest that it is time to *“focus on how urban governance is produced as a practical contingent articulation within the multi-scalar context of political and economic governance in which the urban plays a crucial role”*. Hence, the last section of this chapter deals with the themes of governance and policy networks and the contribution of the SRA to their examination.

2.5 The Governance of Regional Economic Development

In the last three decades, different groups of social scientists have shown an increasing interest in the governance of economic development. For instance, the political science perspective on governance considerably differs from the respective management perspective. The latter is seeking, within the framework of inter-organisational and stakeholder theories, to prescribe factors and identify conditions that determine the success of partnerships in order to suggest measures and tools for effective collaboration (Huxham, and Vangen, 2005; Mitchell *et al.*, 1997; Wood and Gray, 1991). Even within the political science perspective there are differences among scholars who see the dispersal of power as a key constituent of urban political arenas (pluralist theory; Judge, 1995), those who underscore the control of power by a few, mainly business, interest groups (elite theory; Harding, 1995), and those who discover the effects of potent governing coalitions (urban regime theory¹¹). This section considers debates of regional economic governance and calls for a fresh avenue of analysis in the face of the SRA, which is not prone to assumptions about power games and socio-political conditions. Rather, the SRA recognizes the complexities of institutional configurations and the fluidity of power games while “*retaining an emphasis on political dynamics within a changing structural context*” (Wood, 2004: 2115).

¹¹ Urban regime theory focuses on the interdependence of state and non-state actors, and the ways in which systemic power shapes the present and future of modern cities (DiGaetano and Lawless, 1999; Dowding, 2001a; Harding, 1996; Lauria, 1997; Mossberger and Stoker, 2001; Stoker, 1995; 1998a; Stone, 2005; Wood, 2004). Despite various points of criticism (see a detailed account by Davies, 2001), the notion of regime reflects what Harvey (1989) has baptised as a transition from a managerial to an entrepreneurial approach of governing. In this case, the state evaluates the flexible and dynamic economic environment, and responds to its demands by adopting a policy style that backs the activities of businesses and communities. There are doubts, however, on the cohesive applicability of regime theory across dissimilar European countries and socio-political contexts due to varying degrees of central government involvement in urban economic development (Davies, 2001; John, 2001; Stewart, 2005).

*A Relational-Evolutionary, Multi-Scalar and Context-Specific Conception of
Regional Economic Governance*

Conceptions of governance in political science are founded on descriptive notions that reflect the ongoing transformation of institutional spaces and configurations. For instance, Hay and Jessop (1995: 15) refer to the ‘*de-nationalization of statehood*’ and the ‘*de-statization of political regimes*’. Likewise, Rhodes (1997; 2003) has employed terms such as the ‘*hollowing out of the national state*’ and ‘*differentiated polity*’ to describe the erosion of the British state, the fragmentation of policies and the complexity of contemporary politics because of the active involvement of the private sector and voluntary groups¹².

The geographical areas and divisions undergoing the processes and outcomes of political relationships have also attracted the attention of political scientists, with emphasis placed on the dynamics of cities and regions. The reason is that the transition from government to governance is difficult to be seen as an absolute, instantaneous, and geographically even transformation. Hence, thorough conceptual tools are needed to reveal what factors are hidden behind the erosion of national institutions and the upgrade of regions and localities

¹² To connect the shift from government to governance with NI, Rhodes comments that the delivery of public policies in the UK is not the product of standardized administrative arrangements. Instead, it takes place through “*a maze of institutions and a variegated pattern of decentralized functions*” (Rhodes, 2003: 71). Although Lowndes (2001; 2008) turns down the ‘hollowing out’ thesis of Rhodes as a chapter of de-institutionalisation in British politics, other authors consider the NI paradigm an opportunity of rehabilitating institutionalist work in the study of regional-local economic governance (Amin, 1999; Bevir, 2003; Blom-Hansen, 1997; Healey, 2006a; Jessop, 2001; Martin, 2000; Pierre and Peters, 2000; Stoker, 2000). Such ideas have stimulated a great deal of research in themes such as the regeneration of British cities and the restructuring of public services. This literature revolves around the inclusiveness, diversity and fluidity of the forms of political struggles and partnerships between the different layers of the state and civil society (Booth, 2005; Carley, 2000; Carrol and Steane, 2000; Flinders, 2005; Harding, 1998; Jones and Evans, 2008; Lister and Marsh, 2005; McQuaid, 2000; Paddison, 1997; Pierre, 1998; Wedd and Collis, 2000).

(Hollingsworth and Boyer, 1997; Jouve and Lefevre, 2002; MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999; Martin *et al.*, 2003; Pierre, 1998).

Rather than the regions themselves, what matters in governance is the complexity and fragmentation surrounding the institutionalisation of economic development. Nowadays, national governments face changes both within their internal structures and external environment. Insofar as some of their functions and responsibilities are “*rescaled, licensed out to non-elected agencies or simply rationalized*”, perceptions about the role of the state vary considerably (Ward, 2000; cited in Martin *et al.*, 2003: 113; also Thrift, 2004). Hence, It is needed a topological rather than territorial analysis of economic and political life, “*where the (regional and local) bring together different scales of practice/social action*” (Amin, 2004: 38). Interestingly, these ideas are compatible with the inter-subjective nature of institutions cultivated by the paradigm of NI. Nevertheless, they do not ease the pursuit of knowledge on regional politics among countries with diverse economic and socio-political landscapes.

What this study suggests is that a relational and multi-scalar conception of regional governance needs to be supplemented by an explicit focus on the evolutionary (path-dependent and path-shaping) attributes of spatio-temporally specific contexts. Among European states, there are several different stories and trajectories ascribed to the operation of regions. Jones (2001) views the effectiveness of reforms prompted by national governments to increase the value and self-sufficiency of regions as dependent on place-specific conditions. It seems that the nature and degree of government intervention in regional-local governance are poignant and dynamic reflections of the wider fabric and traditions of countries and societies. According to the work of several scholars, who have

cross-culturally examined the transformation of welfare state and aspects of economic development in Western Europe since the end of World War II, Appendix B attempts to outline the evolving socio-political landscape of Greece while comparing Northern and Southern-European states. Since it is not uncommon the identification of important differences even between countries included in one of these two broad categories (Roccas and Padoa-Schioppa, 2001; Sapelli, 1995), the comparative effort is a priori destined to be somehow crude and rudimentary.

More importantly for this study, however, information from Appendix B frames the topic of tourism governance in Athens around two key themes. The first is the changing nature of central government intervention in regional planning and economic development, due to Greece's membership in the European Union (EU), which however does not propagate effectively devolution reforms¹³. The second is the appeal of urban tourism as an alternative form to mass tourism. Knowledge of these features facilitates the introduction of the peculiarities of tourism development in Athens in Chapter Three. It also contemplates the multi-scalar interaction of structure and agency as instrumental to comprehending governance as an ideal condition. The quality of this condition, or to put it more appropriately, the success or failure of governance seem to be susceptible to the nature and quality of institutional configurations in specific spatio-temporal contexts (Jessop, 1998).

¹³ Ansell (2000) regards the amelioration of interregional inequalities and the enhancement of cohesion in the EU through the implementation of regional development programs as constructive processes. Yet, he also refers to political and technical obstacles at the supra-national and national levels that disrupt or delay the transfer of powers and resources to the regional-local tiers of political administration.

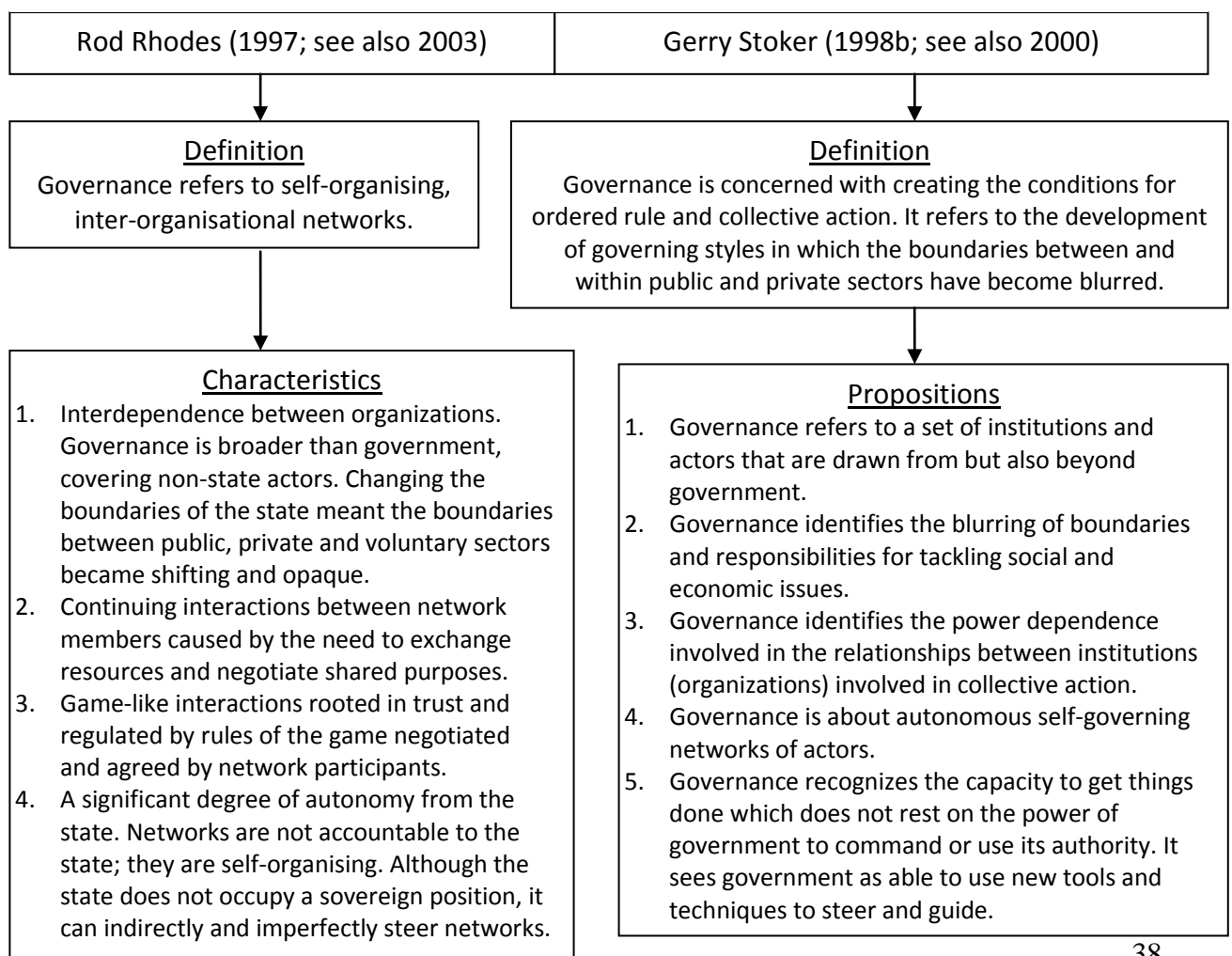
Holistic Conceptions of Regional Economic Governance

After scrutinizing the relational and spatio-temporal dynamics of regional economic governance, holistic conceptions of its essence and organisation require an endeavour of equal intellectual rigour. The governance literature is divided into the ‘*interest intermediation*’ and the ‘*governance*’ schools of thought (Borzel, 1998: 255). The former, whose origins can be traced to the US and British literature and whose definitions and main features are summarized by two eminent scholars in Figure 2.4, is considered to be descriptive and regards governance as a ‘*new mode of governing*’ (Mayntz, 2003: 27). This mode is believed to be different from markets and hierarchies, and identifies partnerships between state and non-state actors through their common participation in policy networks. In contrast, the latter school, whose ideas mainly stem from German scholars, does not foresee the replacement of hierarchies and markets. Instead, it perceives governance as an ideal conception of ‘*steering through policy networks*, alternative to the other ideal conceptions of economic, political and social coordination (Besussi, 2006; Borzel; 1998; Hoff, 2003:43; Mayntz, 2003; Skogstad, 2005; Stewart, 2002). Between these two traditions, thus, there is a fundamental divergence of viewpoints around the genesis and actual existence of governance.

On the one hand, the ‘*interest intermediation*’ school of thought perceives power as an issue of resource dependency and synergy in mixed networks, which enjoy a degree of autonomy from the state. While Stoker (1998b) implies the success or failure of governance is not contingent upon the imposition of rules, the term governance encapsulates for Rhodes “*the changing form of the British state in general and the ways in which the informal authority of networks supplements and supplants the formal authority*

of the state in particular” (2003: 67). As the comparison of Northern and Southern European states in Appendix B illustrates, the extent to which this definition can be applicable in other countries depends on what political conditions shape the coordinating role of state actors and the capacity of non-state actors to build policy networks and intervene in the art of governing (Geddes, 2005; John, 2001; Pierre and Peters, 2000). Indeed, Stoker acknowledges that the political culture of each country cannot be underrated, because the “*governance perspective, again like a map, is date and place specific*” and “*reflects the origins and realities of where the person who draws the map is based*” (1998b: 26). Nevertheless, Thompson and Pforr (2005) blame the descriptive nature of the ‘*interest intermediation*’ school of thought for the lack of a dynamic examination of contingent interactions shaping socio-political change.

Figure 2.4: Theoretical Perspectives on Governance as a New Mode of Governing



On the other hand, the ‘*governance*’ school of thought underlines the coupling and co-evolution of networks, markets, and hierarchies (Thompson *et al.*, 1991; cited in Lister and Marsh, 2005). Transaction cost economics is the first discipline in which an integration of hierarchical and heterarchical modes of economic organization was attempted. This gradually resulted in the conceptual broadening of the governance term (Hollingsworth and Boyer, 1997; Mayntz, 2003; Van Waarden, 1992). Jessop notes that:

“In political science attention has turned to forms of coordination which not only span the conventional public-private divide but also involve ‘tangled hierarchies’, parallel power networks, or other forms of complex interdependence across different tiers of government and functional domains” (1998: 31).

While forms of coordination aim to eliminate sources of conflict and encourage actors to devote themselves to the accomplishment of mutual goals, Jessop (1998) believes that the key to governance is communication. Not only is it essential for ameliorating mutual incomprehension and building coherence across inter-personal and inter-organizational networks. Communication also enables inter-systemic steering across institutional levels. Yet no illusions are necessary regarding distinctions between heterarchies and other coordination modes. In Jessop’s words (1998: 33): *“If reliance on heterarchy has increased, it is because increasing interdependencies are no longer so easily managed through markets and hierarchies”*. This statement questions the creation of a new mode of governing. It is not just the hypothesis that policy networks come to life and are formed differently among contexts (Carlsson 2000; Macleod and Goodwin, 1999). More substantively, political scientists face an intriguing dilemma. They can either rely on the emergence and expansion of policy networks as signs of governance success or scrutinize the operation of policy networks in specific spatio-temporal contexts in order to assess the nature and effectiveness of these processes (Hoff, 2003).

As clarity is needed about the degree of state intervention in regional economic development and planning, this study discerns the dominant role of national governments in Southern European countries. Moreover, it argues that the governance perspective implies a re-conceptualisation of the state's configuration and legitimacy. The activities of the different tiers of the state set the foundations on which socio-political forces compete to pursue an advantageous institutional position in an ambivalent and fragmented environment (Goodwin *et al.*, 1995; 2005; 2006; Gualini, 2006, Healey *et al.*, 2002b; Le Gales, 2001; Lister and Marsh, 2005). Whether the evolution of the (interactively) multi-scalar terrain of public action instils a sense of coherence (or incoherence) is a matter of empirical research in particular places and junctures. In both cases, however, “*governance is conceived as the complex art of steering multiple agencies, institutions, and systems, which are operationally autonomous from one another and structurally coupled*” through the operation of different coordination modes (Jessop, 1997; cited in Thiel, 2009: 226).

Policy Networks as Political Institutions

The afore-mentioned governance definition conceptualises policy networks as political institutions and equips political scientists with tools to tackle certain challenges in their analysis¹⁴. For instance, Klijn (1997) criticises the tendency to assume power only as a matter of resource dependency. He also calls for more attention on effects from the operation and co-evolution of actors and networks in each policy area. In the paradigm of

¹⁴ In a similar fashion to the management perspective on governance and collaboration, the field of policy networks has welcomed a series of studies dealing with the management of power, the structural factors that determine the success or failure of policy networks, and the mapping of inter-organizational networks (Booher and Innes, 2002; Kickert *et al.*, 1997; Klijn and Koppenjan 2000; 2006). Yet the research tradition of network management has been criticised both for its straightforwardness, in prescribing management tools and conditions for effective horizontal networks, and unwillingness to explain power games within both horizontal and vertical networks (Goverde and Van Tatenhove, 2000). These points are not irrelevant to debates between political scientists whose work on policy networks is tied to conceptions of governance.

NI, this challenge is addressed through the examination of formal and informal patterns of behaviours and conditions. Regardless of their propensity to undermine or increase the state's primacy in the process of governing, knowledge of these structured mechanisms and practices contributes to understanding interdependencies and the stratification of power (Pierre and Peters, 2000). It is suggested that the study of policy networks is intimately related to the exploration of the terrains of public action, and of the embedded material and ideational factors that coordinate interactions (Klijn, 1997; Skogstad, 2005). It remains debatable, however, whether such observations have reduced confusion in the policy network literature, which is divided between reviews of typologies and characteristics (Jordan, 1990; Rhodes, 1997; Thatcher, 1998; Van Waarden 1992) and comparative accounts of different conceptions (Borzel, 1998; Thompson and Pforr, 2005).

For Blom-Hansen (1997), the first result of intellectual confusion is a lack of consensus over conceptions of policy networks. According to the '*interest intermediation*' school of thought, the further growth of governance invokes the emergence of new policy networks against other forms of social coordination. The problem in this scenario is that the concept of governance faces the danger of overextending and losing its connotation (Hoff, 2003). Following the ideas of the '*governance*' school of thought, Hay (1998: 39) points out that "*modes of coordination do not exist in isolation, but are necessarily articulated*", and "*we should not expect to see networks which do not display hierarchical and/or market traits*". Rather than the abundance of policy networks, thus, what matter are the reasons for their growth, their structural coupling with the rest of institutions and modes of governance, and their dynamic contribution to consensus and coalition-building (Klijn and Koppenjan 2000; Lowndes, 2002; Thompson and Pforr, 2005; Wood and Valler, 2001).

Another source of dispute is the lack of explanatory depth in the policy network concept. Ambiguity heightens when emphasis is placed on the intrinsic features of policy networks (e.g. exchange of resources and negotiations of conflicting interests) rather than on the interplay of individuals and groups with the contexts surrounding them. A substantial response to this ambiguity is given by NI whereby the emergence and development of policy networks in specific contexts is seen as facilitated or constrained by the various forms of institutional arrangements (Blom-Hansen, 1997; Boin and Kuipers, 2008). Enhancing the concept's explanatory depth also requires exploring "*when, how and why networks and their policies change*" (Rhodes, 1997: 13). The challenge is to utilise policy networks to describe and interpret behaviours along with "*the pattern of linkages and interactions*" (Borzel, 1998: 259) that contribute to or hinder network institutionalisation and political steering (Blom-Hansen, 1997; Boin and Kuipers, 2008; Goverde and Tatenhove, 2000; Jessop, 1998; Smith, 1993). Hoff (2003) argues that such an approach facilitates distinctions between the macro-level (analytical) concept of governance and the meso-level (empirical) policy network concept.

What the conception of policy networks as political institutions provides to the study of economic governance is awareness of the reciprocal ways in which actors in policy networks and institutional contexts shape each other. While Chapter Three demonstrates how similar ideas have come to light in the research of tourism policy and planning, the current discussion has linked potential for improving the explanatory depth of the policy network concept with the structure-agency debate. The last part of this section elaborates upon the conception of policy networks as political institutions, and illustrates how the SRA enhances intellectual thinking on policy network evolution.

Policy Networks as Strategic Alliances

Conceptualising policy networks as political institutions requires a definition that captures the key constituents of networks and apprehends the nature of their influence (Boin and Kuipers, 2008). Hoff (2003) advises political scientists to make sense of regularised practices, which are issue and context-dependent and reflect the desire of their members to build consensus and achieve common goals. In an effort to facilitate descriptions of behaviours and interactions, Hay (1998: 38) describes policy networks as “*strategic alliances forged around a common agenda (however contested, however dynamic) of mutual advantage through collective action*”. For Hoff (2003), policy networks are developed among various actors, incorporate broad relationships, and relate to efforts for coordination from both above and below. The exploration and interrogation of policy networks must be flexible to encapsulate relationships that span across scales and levels of administration (Marsh, 1998; Collinge and Srbljanin, 2002). Collinge and Srbljanin (2002: 172-173) believe that “*an adequate understanding of the state system requires that ‘vertical’ as well as ‘horizontal’ relations be taken into consideration*” in studying policy networks. Variations are inevitable among policy areas and socio-political contexts in the intensity of government involvement in economic governance. To remember Hay (1998) and Jessop (1998), there is no way to preconceive whether hierarchical or heterarchical traits flourish in relationships among/between state and non-state actors.

Perceiving policy networks as strategic alliances equips researchers with flexibility during the interpretation of empirical findings. While this definition does not isolate policy networks from other institutions and modes of governance, it recognizes their interactions and occasional overlaps. It also hypothesizes the production of good results through the

development of policy networks, without foreshadowing the success or failure of coordination. Indeed, there is nothing in this definition to prescribe the strengthening of collaboration or the prevalence of phenomena and behaviours such as “*dissensus, disorder, rigidity, and atomism*” (Hay, 1998: 39). Rather, a shift of attention is recorded towards relational-evolutionary thinking in which micro-, meso- and macro-level concepts are intertwined in a methodical and dialectical manner. In this sense, “*agency, networks, and contextual factors together interact to shape policy-making and policy outcomes*” (Skogstad, 2005: 7 cf. Hay, 1998; Marsh, 1998; Marsh and Smith, 2000; 2001).

Policy Networks, Change, Power, and the SRA

To understand governance through an efficient usage of the policy network concept requires descriptions of roles and interactions along with explanations of the evolution and impact of behavioural patterns. Goverde and Tatenhove (2000) claim that in a world of multi-scalar transformations the study of policy networks will not progress unless it deals with their dynamic nature. Inevitably, the discussion returns to the dialectic of structure and agency. It appears that it can provide insight into the nature of human action, and help political scientists understand how the emergence and evolution of policy networks are tied to contextual factors. On the one hand, “*clearly, exogenous factors do affect policy networks, but it is how that context is interpreted and negotiated by the members of the networks which affect outcomes*” (Marsh, 1998: 187); On the other hand, “*the actions of networks actors, particularly, though not exclusively, the actions of government, can also affect the context within which the networks operate*” (Marsh, 1998: 188). Thus, the production and reproduction of policy outcomes and institutions ensue from interactions between policy networks, actors outside networks, and other institutions.

In addition, it is of equal importance to understand how policy networks are shaped by endogenous factors, proceeding from within policy networks, such as organizational structures and relationships between network members (Marsh, 1998). Hoff (2003) approves such an internal investigation because the identity, ambition and behaviour of actors in a policy network depend to a certain extent on the network itself. Each policy network is considered to be a structure incorporating different sets of opportunities and constraints for its members. At the same time, policy network actions are a cumulative reflection of the actions of individuals and groups within the network in compliance with the mutually agreed agenda. Each member of a policy network faces internal opportunities and constraints imposed both by the network structure and the plans and actions of the rest of players within the network. Thus, it is needed an analysis of the behaviour of actors as members of a policy network alongside the wider analysis of their behaviour within the spatio-temporal context in question. The reason is that:

“Any explanation of change (in policy networks) must emphasize the role of agents, while also acknowledging that the broader context within which the network operates affects the interests and actions of network members (Marsh and Smith, 2000: 7)”.

This dialectical standpoint has certain implications for policy network analysis. First, it blurs analytical distinctions between endogenous and exogenous factors to policy networking, because the stimulus of change stem from the recursive coupling of structure and agency (Marsh and Smith, 2000; Skogstad, 2005). Second, the stratification of power is assessed on how power relations regulate the evolution of actors within the network and the network itself (Allen, 2004; Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004; Marsh and Smith, 2001). Given that the articulation of power relations occurs *“in a world dominated by continuing disorder, strife, and disagreement”* (Hoff, 2003: 48), their output is mediated in policy

networks and becomes an integral aspect of policy network constitution. Hence, Goverde and Van Tatenhove (2000: 107) claim that the study of power in policy networks must acknowledge “*both the influence of actors on the development of policies in networks and the impact of the structural context in which the actors operate*”, or more concisely, to “*grasp the link between structure and agency*”.

There are different ways to unfold a relational conception of power and connect it with interpretations of socio-political change in the study of policy networks. Influenced by structuration theory, Goverde and Van Tatenhove (2000: 106-107) put forward their three-layered conceptualisation. Power in this framework is conceived as ‘*capacity*’ as well as a ‘*relational and structural phenomenon*’ able to elucidate the nature of socio-political changes within and beyond policy networks. In economic institutionalism, Blom-Hansen (1997) makes another attempt to interpret power in policy networks by delineating the boundaries of human action. He draws on the micro-foundation of homo economicus to explain how the members of policy networks reflect on their rationality and strategic decision-making capacity. The ultimate aspiration of policy network members is to deal with endogenous and exogenous opportunities and constraints. The concept of strategy, however, obtains a primarily explanatory position when combined with the social ontology background of the SRA and its unambiguous focus on the dialectic of structure and agency. Hay (1998; 2002) suggests that the SRA provides a heuristic apparatus able to scrutinize and interpret both the context-shaping effects of power and policy network transformation.

To clarify the above point, an adjustment of previous conclusions is necessary. The SRA refers to strategic actors, who formulate their strategic actions while dealing with

constraints and opportunities inscribed in path-dependent and path-shaping contexts. The formulation of strategic action is the result of calculation concerning what tactics will yield the optimum outcome. The development of a strategic alliance derives from the belief that this collective structure is feasible to strengthen action capacities and reap more benefits for its members. Future perceptions determine network transformation. Possible scenarios include the recruitment of new members and the expansion of activities or, reversely, the departure of participants and network termination (Hay, 1998). Such calculations are always grounded, however, on partial knowledge and more or less accurate perceptions about contextual opportunities and constraints. Likewise, Borzel (1998) underlines the weight of cultural values, ideas and communication skills in policy preparation, implementation and update within networks.

Yet the SRA encloses the debate of policy network evolution in a heuristic apparatus, whose phases explicate how the resources and perceptions of actors are recursively intertwined with the material and discursive challenges posed by structural conditions. In dialectical terms, this is the case of a strategically and discursively selective context. This context favours specific courses of action to guarantee its reproduction. Nevertheless, its partial transformation after the implementation of strategic action coincides with changes in strategic capacities and knowledge for each actor. Hay (1998) is aware of the embeddedness of policy networks as political institutions in these bewildering and fluid, yet issue- and context-dependent processes, so he claims not to provide a universal truth of how policy networks fail or succeed. Rather, Hay (1998: 49) argues through the SRA that everything in policy network evolution and transformation is a matter of “*perceptions of the changing external context; perceptions of network failure; or, indeed, the perceived realization of strategic goals*”.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the conceptual framework of SRA, and built an integrated debate of different themes of political science upon the dialectic of structure and agency. Through the principles of NI, it was first shown why contemporary institutional analysis needs to take account of the spatio-temporal specificity and embeddedness of institutions along with their multifaceted, multi-scalar, path-dependent, and dynamic features. These seemingly contradictory perspectives constitute the basis for an intimate dialogue between the inter-subjective nature of institutions and processes of institutionalisation, spatial dynamics and socio-political change. Accordingly, the SRA utilises the conceptions of strategic actors and strategically selective contexts to provide a guide of the dialectical interplay of institutional contexts and agents.

Second, it was suggested that these reciprocal, iterative and contingent interactions occur along with a perpetually constitutive relation between material and ideational factors. Investigating the response of agency to the material and discursive selectivities of each context, the SRA equips political scientists with an apparatus to explore institutional evolution and comprehend power through its context-shaping effects. More crucially, however, the ideas of NI and the conceptual framework of SRA have application in the analysis of regional economic governance as an ideal condition, which is defined as “*the complex art of steering multiple agencies, institutions, and systems, which are operationally autonomous from one another and structurally coupled*” in different socio-political contexts (Jessop, 1997; cited in Thiel, 2009: 226). In effect, this definition is compatible with the assumptions of the ‘*governance*’ school of thought about the co-

existence and co-evolution of hierarchical and heterarchical modes of coordination. Finally, this chapter indicated how conceptions of policy networks as political institutions and strategic alliances generate meaningful narratives of policy network evolution and power relations in strategic-relational terms.

This chapter basically paved the way for the discovery and discussion in the next chapter of similar themes in the tourism policy and planning inquiry. As this study looks forward to restoring disciplinary interest in institutional analysis in the particular research area and enhancing the interpretive and explanatory power of tourism governance narratives, the next chapter illustrates how the SRA can facilitate the production of a thorough account of tourism governance in Athens.

Chapter Three: A Strategic-Relational Approach to the Governance of Tourism Development

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to show how the operationalization of the conceptual framework of the ‘Strategic-Relational Approach’ (SRA) can link description, theory and explanation to tourism policy and planning (Hall and Jenkins, 2004). This chapter also discusses scope for the critical examination and integration of distinct political science themes into the respective research area as a suitable way to investigate tourism governance in Athens.

In general, the literature reviewed in this chapter paves the way for a ‘New Institutional’ analysis of tourism governance. Firstly, the underlying assumptions of the ‘New Institutionalism’ (NI) are regarded as an alternative avenue for advancing the study of tourism politics. This discussion revolves around the interpretive role of theory and the interplay of structure with agency, as articulated by the SRA, and takes into account analytical implications of blending the specificity of socio-political contexts with the flux of the concepts of path-dependence and path-shaping (Hay, 2002). Secondly, this chapter undertakes a critical review of theoretical standpoints. Not only does this discussion appreciate the merits of tourism collaboration debates, it also justifies how the SRA can enhance the exploration, report and interpretation of tourism governance. The goal is to figure out in what ways a relational-evolutionary perspective on tourism policy and planning coincides with contemporary empirical themes and theoretical aspects of tourism

politics. Thirdly, this chapter introduces the research setting of Athens and specifies what contextual particularities need to be addressed during the study of tourism governance in a Southern-European, tourist-historic and capital city.

3.2 Revisiting Institutions in Tourism Policy and Planning

To proceed with an institutional analysis of tourism governance is not a major innovation, but allows scope for intellectual improvements in the tourism policy and planning inquiry. References to institutional analysis can be traced back to the early days of tourism research (Noronha, 1977: cited in Cohen, 1984: 383; also Jenkins and Henry, 1982; Kusters, 1984; Matthews, 1983; Richter, 1983; 1984; Sessa, 1976). Although these scholars criticised the lack of bridges between political scientists and tourism researchers, little evidence suggested that political analysis had pervaded tourism literature until middle 1990s (Britton, 1991; Matthews and Richter, 1991; Long, 1994; Pearce, 1992). For Hall (1994: 1), the politics of tourism had not yet stopped being “*the poor cousin of both tourism research and political science and policy studies*”. This undeveloped relationship was seen as the result of an unjustified lack of attention to the influence of institutions on tourism public policy (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Hall, 1998a). Recently, there has been a growing interest in the politics of tourism. References to institutional aspects have remained, nonetheless, with few notable exceptions (Dredge, 2001; 2006a; 2006b; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a; 2007b; Kerr, 2003; Pforr, 2005; Treuren and Lane, 2003; Tyler and Dinan, 2001a; 2001b), fragmented and largely concealed within debates of inter-organizational relationships and government intervention in tourism. Hence, Hall (2008)

with Jenkins (2004) claim it is time for tourism researchers to become systematic and unambiguous while linking institutions with the themes of values, power, and governance.

A Fresh Perspective on the Institutional Analysis of Tourism Policy and Planning

The paradigm of NI has coincided with a period in which more and more tourism scholars employ relational, historical and evolutionary approaches to exploring political themes such as government intervention in tourism development, partnerships, and power¹⁵. Followers of this tradition underline the diversity, complexity, and unevenness of tourism development as well as the multi-scalar nature of relevant interactions. They also point out that knowledge on these matters cannot be detached from the socio-political environment of each destination and stakeholder values (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Stevenson *et al.*, 2008; Timur, 2003a; Yuksel *et al.*, 1999). Similar ideas have permeated through urban tourism research (Ashworth and Page, 2010; Chang and Huang, 2004; Edwards *et al.*, 2008; Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Murayama, 2004; Page and Hall, 2003; Pearce, 2001; Shachar, 1995), whose scholars have intensified efforts to comprehend tourism dynamics as an integral constituent of entrepreneurial cities.

On these grounds, I embrace the idea that “*much can be gained from placing tourism policy in wider social, economic, and political contexts and not treating tourism as a*

¹⁵ Cf. Bramwell and Cox, 2009; Bramwell and Lane, 2005; Butler, 1999; 2004; Chambers and Airey, 2001; Church, 2004; Church and Coles, 2007; Coles and Church, 2007; Dredge, 2001; 2007; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007c; Doorne, 1998; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Few, 2002; Hannam, 2002; Jeffries, 2001; Jenkins, 2000; Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010; Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Pforr, 2001; 2005; Reed, 1997; 1999.

separate policy issue” (Richards, 1995:171). Attention is drawn to the perceptions, resources, practices, and relations that shape policy decision-making and implementation in urban tourism. Influenced by the comments of Kerr *et al.* on the merit of institutional analysis, I aspire to grasp whether institutionalization and the tourism terrain of public action in Athens are the outputs of ‘structured coherence’ or ‘patterned incoherence’, in terms of coordinating initiatives and socio-political order (Jessop, 2001), rather than “*reify institutions and institutional relationships as opposed to exploring organizations in terms of social processes and networks*” (2001: 650). What now seems disciplinarily appropriate is to investigate how the fundamental ideas of NI relate to improving knowledge on tourism governance through a fresh perspective on the role of theory and a well-defined theoretical framework.

A Fresh Perspective on the Role of Theory

This study appreciates what can be gained from an interpretive dialogue between theory and evidence during a ‘New Institutional’ analysis of tourism governance. Emphasis is placed on apprehending both formal and informal behaviours and practices along with the spatio-temporal embeddedness of institutions in specific contexts (Wood and Valler, 2001). These features capture the inter-subjective nature of institutions upon which the dialectic of structure and agency together with the concepts of path-dependence and path-shaping outline a relational-evolutionary perspective on institutions (Hay, 2002). This approach does not merely enhance knowledge on multi-scalar interactions, cultural values, and political transformations. It also has significant implications for the role of theory as an apparatus for scratching the surface of empirical information and revealing its underlying themes and trends.

For the current discussion, however, there are two key debates in the research area of tourism policy and planning. First, it is the ongoing dispute between prescriptive and descriptive approaches (Hall, 2000a; Hall and Page, 2006). The former has been the dominant paradigm, despite increasing criticism upon the adequacy of prescribing courses of action and policy standards within highly fluid environments. The latter approach has more recently enjoyed an esteemed reception, but questions still remain over its capacity to provide meaningful insights into the processes of tourism policy and planning (Ap, 1990; cited in Pearce and Moscardo, 2002; Bramwell, 2004c; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007d; Jennings, 2001). Descriptions can undoubtedly be informative in political analysis of tourism while considering the spatio-temporally specificity and contextual embeddedness of institutions. Stevenson *et al.* suggest time has come to begin a discussion “*about the social context within which policies are made and examine relationships between contextual aspects*” (2008: 733). Neither is the aim to produce plausible causal hypotheses nor to merely identify what should be described (Jennings, 2001; Kerr *et al.*, 2001). Rather, there is potential for the systematic exploration and description of institutions along with the contribution of theory to generating coherent and explanatory narratives of tourism governance and political change (Kerr, 2003; Pearce, 1997).

“*The atheoretical nature of much tourism research*” forms the second key debate in the research area of tourism policy and planning as “*a major limiting factor in its development*” (Pearce and Moscardo: 2002: 41). Tourism research appears to suffer from either a proliferation of piecemeal theoretical bases (Bramwell and Lane, 2005; Dann, 1999; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007d; Hall, 1994; Hannam, 2002; Matthews 1983; Squire, 1994) or reluctance on behalf of scholars to engage in rigorous empirical work on proposed theories (Cohen, 1984; Dann *et al.*, 1988; Matthews and Richter, 1991). For Hall

and Jenkins (2004), the latter also derives from a lack of creativity and limited understanding of the researcher's active intervention throughout the collection, analysis and dissemination of data. Moreover, it is questioned whether any single theory is able to capture the complexity of tourism planning, when "*there is no dominant or coherent approach in public policy studies generally, and with respect to tourism specifically*" (Jenkins, 2001: 76). Given the latest trend of a growing number of tourism scholars who advocate the combination of theoretical approaches (Bramwell and Cox, 2009; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Dredge and Jenkins, 2003a; 2003b; Jenkins, 2000; 2001; Kerr, 2003; Pearce, 2001; Pforr, 2005; Stevenson *et al.*, 2008; Timur, 2003b; Treuren and Lane, 2003; Tyler and Dinan, 2001a; 2001b; Wang and Xiang, 2007), it is time to see how the SRA advances conceptions of institutions in tourism politics and provides a conceptual guide to their description and interpretation (Hall and Jenkins, 2004).

Social Theory and the SRA to Tourism Governance

There is potential for employing concepts and models from the milieu of social theory to infuse the study of tourism governance into the wider intellectual accounts of socio-political transformations (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Squire, 1994; Walmsley, 2004). During his conceptual review of post-modernism, structuralism and post-structuralism, Davis (2001) discusses the contribution of social theory to the analysis of behaviours and practices in the construction and evolution of tourism landscapes. He also regards structuration theory as a promising alternative to the analytical deficits of structuralism and intentionalism because of Giddens' place-sensitive and multi-scalar pondering over the reciprocal interplay of structure with agency.

Embedded as they are seen in specific places and instances, cultural values, material resources and human actions emanate from the influence of historical events and wide structures. Conversely, the consequences of ideas and behaviours on social life transcend the level of a particular conjuncture as well as the scale of the 'locale'.

Surprisingly, Giddens has had only a marginal effect on tourism research (Bramwell, 2006; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Hall, 2000a; Hall and Page, 2006; Karlsson, 2005), although the metaphorical interpretation of the 'locale' in the 'time-geography' of structuration theory shares common ground with numerous scholars in the tourism policy and planning literature¹⁶. Tourism scholars often refer to 'contextual' or 'situational' factors as different kinds of socio-political, economic and cultural idiosyncrasies, which variously shape "*power relations between actors, issues of democracy and accountability, and the final distribution of benefits and costs of tourism development*" (Bramwell, 2004c: 551). Similar concerns for the multifarious imprint of historical legacies and context-specific factors among 'developed' and 'developing' countries have emerged over the last decade in urban tourism research (Fainstein *et al.*, 2003a; Law, 2002; Maitland, 2006; Raffay, 2007). As institutional configurations are believed to vary among countries as much as the patterns of tourism policy and planning among cities (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001), this study pays attention to contextual factors but also adds a distinct evolutionary element in the structure-agency debate.

¹⁶ Cf. Bramwell and Rawding, 1994; Caffyn and Jobbins, 2003; Dredge, 2006a; Elliott, 1997; Hunter, 1997; Joppe, 1995; Kerr, 2003; Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2002; Meethan, 1998; Palmer, 1998; Pearce, 1989; 1997; Roberts and Simpson, 2000; Robinson, 2000; Simpson, 2001; Tosun, 2000; Williams and Shaw, 1998b; Yuksel *et al.*, 2005.

More explicitly, this study links concerns over the contextual embeddedness of institutions in space and time with the notions of strategy, path-dependence and path-shaping within the SRA. As discussed in Chapter Two, structuration theory has been criticised for a narrow conception of the dynamic interplay of structure and agency (Jessop, 2005a). This could be an essential challenge for this study, because urban tourism *“is about the social processes of change and the political decision making processes that dictate the nature of that change and identify the winners and losers”* (Tyler and Guerrier, 1998: 230). Among proponents of evolutionary approaches in tourism research (Butler, 1999; Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005), it is imperative to add those who underline the *“dialectical interconnectivity between agency and structure”* as an intellectual-analytical advancement (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007: 769; cf. Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010; Hall, 1994; Roche, 1992). In Hall’s (2000a: 97) words: *“dialectical analysis emphasises the understanding of processes, relations and flows over the analysis of elements, things, structures, and organised systems”*.

As such, this study adopts the SRA as a heuristic on evolution and change in tourism governance. The concept of strategy draws attention to the perceptive ability of actors to calculate at a given moment how they may capitalise on or overcome the structural opportunities and constraints of each context, and undertake a favourable course of action. Crucially, strategic actions and strategic selectivities are seen as both the results of historical developments and the determinants of future transformations. The latter always remain subject to contingency because of the varying capacities of actors to transform contexts according to their aspirations and learn from previous strategies and experience. Thus, not only does the conception of the recursive interplay of strategic actors and strategically selective structural conditions challenge normative accounts of socio-political

transformations, it also, to use Davis' (2001) terminology, provides a post-structuralist mode of thought to the analysis of institutional arrangements, cultural influences and power relations. In regional economic governance as elsewhere, the SRA is a theoretical novelty, but has not yet been tested in the study of tourism governance¹⁷. As this study looks forward to remedy this negligence, the SRA is employed to enhance knowledge on tourism governance along with the analysis of institutions and policy networks. The next section explains how these theoretical debates fit in with various strands of the tourism policy and planning inquiry.

3.3 Governance Debates in Tourism Policy and Planning

The scope of this section is concerned with debates of tourism governance¹⁸. This section explicates how a relational-evolutionary perspective on the study of tourism governance espouses the complexity of tourism policy, coincides with the rationale of the sustainable approach to tourism planning, and provides a fresh account of the role of the state and interest groups while extracting information on institutional arrangements. Furthermore,

¹⁷ Despite an increasing awareness of the ways in which 'hard' (formal) and 'soft' (informal) institutional arrangements make up the environment where the actors of tourism development act and interact, and in consequence shape tourism policy-making (Dredge and Jenkins, 20007a: 18; *cf.* Dredge and Jenkins, 20007b; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Hall and Page, 2006; Kerr, 2003; Treuren and Lane, 2003), there have been only two citations of the SRA in tourism literature until the beginning of 2010 by Bill Bramwell and his colleagues (Bramwell and Cox, 2008; Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010).

¹⁸ As these debates constitute an integral part of tourism literature, this study pays tribute to scholars with the greatest influence. First, the work of Bill Bramwell, Michael Hall, John Jenkins and Bernard Lane has outlined since the middle 1990s the research context of tourism policy and planning and provided stimulus for the discussion of institutions and collaboration as well as for the introduction of historical, relational and evolutionary approaches. Second, there is a generation of tourism scholars, including Andrew Church, Tim Coles, Dianne Dredge, David Jeffries, William Kerr, Graham Miller, Christof Pforr, and Duncan Tyler, who have made key contributions in the first decade of the 21st century with respect to institutions, the nature of state intervention, policy networks, and power relations between the interest groups involved in tourism. Last but not least, there are several other scholars (e.g. David Airey, Richard Butler, Tazim Jamal, Philip Long, Robert Maitland, Douglas Pearce, Maureen Reed, and Cevat Tosun) whose overall work has paved the way for the current integration of theoretical themes and the operationalisation of the SRA.

this section considers work on tourism collaboration and suggests that tourism governance depends on the co-shaping and co-evolution of both hierarchical and heterarchical modes of coordination. Accordingly, the last part of this section summarizes the principles underpinning the SRA to tourism governance.

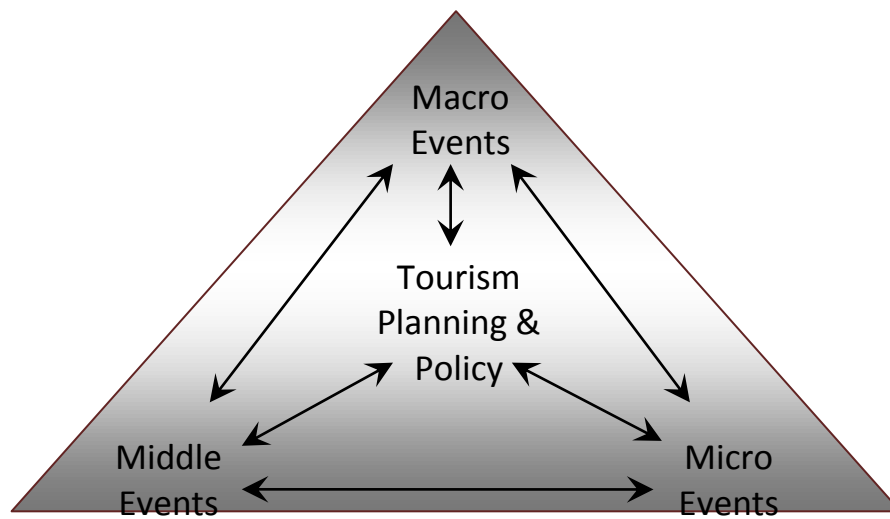
Dealing with the Complexity of Tourism Policy

Scholarship has focused on the tendency of tourism policy to permeate through a large volume of policy areas, organisational structures, interdependent or competing groups of actors, products and services, and societal characteristics (Church *et al.*, 2000; Davidson and Maitland, 1997; Dredge, 2006 b; Fainstein and Judd, 1999a; 1999b; Gunn and Var, 2002; Pearce, 1989; Richards, 1995; Wanhill, 2000). Baum (1994) was one of the first to illustrate the political nature of this complexity, which transcends the overt patterns of public policy practice, while commenting on the factors that were found to affect national tourism policy-making in ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries. In fact, Baum (1994: 186) observed that “*the publication of tourism policy objectives does not, in itself, guarantee their implementation*’ as much as examples of successful destinations could be discovered in countries without any available official publication for national tourism policy. Baum (1994) identified a similar controversy in countries in which tourism was seriously regarded as a vehicle for economic development, but concerns had also arisen about the lack of coherence in tourism policy aspirations between levels of administration.

These signs of controversy and inconsistency match to what Kerr (2003: 27) calls “*a tension between the desire to model policy and focus upon how policy is, if at all*

formulated i.e. the processes by which policies are made or broken, or as occurs in some instances compromised". This tension makes separating tourism policy from other policy areas and socio-political aspects a dubious task. Thus, researchers must not rest exclusively on data on the actions or inaction of governments, because "*the tourism policy process extends well beyond the formal agencies of government*" (Church *et al.*, 2000: 313). Instead, they need to comprehend the behaviours shaping the systems in which tourism policy-making is embedded (Cooper and Flehr, 2006; Elliott, 1997; Fainstein *et al.*, 2003a; 2003b; Sessa, 1976; Hall, 1994; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Jenkins, 2001; Kerr, 2003). Such an intrinsically relational perspective can be based on a balanced account of structure and agency, and pursue knowledge on tourism politics (Davis, 2001; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). Alongside the exploration of behavioural patterns it is also required an interrogation of spatio-temporal factors and linkages. Dredge and Jenkins (2007a: 16) use the triangle of Figure 3.1 to illustrate how "*policy is affected by events and circumstances at several intersecting scales and changes over time*". This triangle does not refute the importance of context-specific attributes, but illustrates the inherently complex and dynamic character of tourism policy and planning from the micro to the meso and macro levels (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; 2004). It also advocates that the present and the future are not independent of the past, while the effects of decisions at any level span across space in the era of globalisation.

Figure 3.1: Interdependencies between Public Policy, Events, Time and Space



Source: Dredge and Jenkins (2007a: 17)

Firstly, there is a growing awareness of interactions between spatial levels of administration and governance (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Fainstein *et al.*, 2003a; 2003b; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Hall, 2000a; 2007; Hall and Jenkins, 2004; Jamal and Stronza, 2009; Pearce, 1989; 1992; 2001; Timothy, 2007). For Milne and Atejejevic (2001), tourism cuts across the global-local nexus with diverse priorities and complexities exhibited between the extremes of spatial division. In broad terms, tourism is seen as another economic and socio-political phenomenon whose geography has begun to transcend traditionally material meanings and focus on the symbolic and metaphorical ways in which the concepts of space, place, and location are perceived and interpreted (Crouch 1999; cited in Hall and Page, 2006). In the UK as much as elsewhere these ideas comprise sources of conflict, because “*the emphasis of policies for tourism is clearly different at each of the levels*” (Brown and Essex, 1989: 534)¹⁹. Moreover, the European Union (EU) is a supranational structure whereby regulatory and fiscal measures have

¹⁹ For similar conclusion in countries like Australia, Belgium, Canada, Ireland, Japan, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey see also Berry and Ladkin, 1997; Cooper and Flehr, 2006; Evans, 2000; Joppe, 1996; Kerr, 2003; Murphy, 1988; Pearce, 1990; 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; Pforr, 2001; 2007a; 2007b; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Williams *et al.*, 1998.

affected, especially in Southern Europe, the nature and aspirations of regional tourism development (Baidal, 2003; Barnes and Barnes, 2003; Bramwell, 2004a; Church *et al.*, 2000; Committee of the Regions, 2006; Kerr, 2003; Meethan, 1998; Pearce, 1997; Williams and Shaw, 1998b; WTO, 2004).

Secondly, tourism and its policy are said to be dynamic phenomena (Jennings, 2001). To comprehend why the researcher of tourism policy “*is a modern-day Theseus trying to follow the thread of the decision-making process through the policy labyrinth*” (Hall, 1994: 198), one has to face the challenge of distinguishing between the time frames of changes in tourism policy objectives as well as between the stages of policy formulation and implementation (Bramwell and Cox, 2009; Davidson and Maitland, 1997; Jenkins, 2001). What this modern-day “Theseus” needs is theoretical armoury to unveil the conditions and patterns of change. The imprint of historical narratives on the evolution of tourism policy in specific countries is not relegated, especially when some of these narratives effectively trace “*the links between policy development and wider social, economic and political factors*” (Richards, 1995: 154; *cf.* Baidal, 2003; 2004; Brown and Essex, 1989; Chambers and Airey, 2001; Charlton and Essex, 1995; Church *et al.*, 2000; Goymen, 2000; Jeffries, 2001; Jenkins, 2000; Leontidou, 1991; 1998; Pforr, 2001; Thomas and Thomas, 1998). The same is valid when political economy and development perspectives, such as regulation and dependency theories, provide insights into shifts in the international modes of tourism production and consumption (Bramwell, 2004b; Lafferty and van Fossen, 2001; Fainstein *et al.*, 2003a; 2003b; Fayos-Sola, 1996; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Matthews and Richter, 1991; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Shaw and Williams, 2004).

For Church (2004), however, studying the impact of globalisation on tourism presupposes knowledge of national and regional-local dynamics and idiosyncrasies²⁰. Aligned to the idea of combining theoretical perspectives, Bramwell (2004; and Rawding, 1994; and Meyer, 2007; and Cox, 2009) has over the years linked his interest in partnerships and power with the concepts of path-dependence and path-shaping in tourism contexts. Together with the dialectic of structure and agency, these concepts equip students with tools to explore the multifaceted political agenda of tourism development, in cities and elsewhere, and comprehend the origins, fluidity, and contingency of its processes (Ashworth and Page, 2010; Human, 1994; Tyler and Guerrier, 1998). Given that the same concepts constitute the foundations of the SRA, it is argued that a relational-evolutionary perspective is associated with the rationale behind planning for sustainable tourism.

Planning for Sustainable Tourism – A Relational-Evolutionary Perspective

Although the term planning intrinsically incorporates relational-evolutionary elements²¹, I am arguing that an explicit relational-evolutionary perspective concurs with the political nature and rationale of the sustainable approach to tourism planning. I specifically consider the advocacy that systems thinking can enable a better understanding of how the

²⁰ Interestingly, controversial viewpoints overshadow this methodological debate. Whereas Fainstein *et al.* (2003b: 240) remark on the capacity of regulation theory to highlight city tourism linkages, attributed to “*the multi-dimensional flux of actors, sectors, geographic scales, institutions, and levels of governance*”, other scholars doubt on whether regulation theory can address the impact of regional-local structures and practices on tourism (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Shaw and Williams, 2004). Regardless the questionable applicability of regulation theory in tourism, the afore-mentioned authors would agree with Dredge and Jenkins (2007c) when they stress the close interrelation between history and culture in terms of values and traditions.

²¹ For instance, not only does planning “*involve a dialogue between overlapping or complementary and competing interests*” but, in itself, is a process through which “*information is gathered, retained and analysed (perhaps even discarded) and alternative courses of action are identified and evaluated*” (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a: 9; 11).

different elements of tourism politics stand in interrelationship²², and shed light on their spatio-temporal dynamics. According to Farrell and Twining-Ward (2004: 279), tourism reflects the case of a ‘*panarchy*’ in which the bottom-up coupling of individual (core) systems leads to the rise of comprehensive systems from the regional to the global level. As core systems are believed to be dynamically interrelated, there is potential for holistic inquiries in tourism governance where “*everything affects everything else, and it is necessary to understand all the parts in order to understand the whole system*” (Dredge and Lawrence, 2007: 193).

Perhaps more enlightening is the intervention of systems thinking when combined with evolutionary elements. Le Pelley and Laws (1998) illustrate in the case of Canterbury that each destination can be seen as a system. The operation and performance of destinations depend both on the coupling of key components and external factors as well as on the capacity of planning and management to cope with induced changes. Despite the spatial point of view of this study, the second part of its main argument suggests that the virtual contribution of systems thinking is understood when relations within and beyond each spatial division are seen as dynamic over time. However, this is not to imply that tourism planning is a uniform process, which dogmatically follows specific stages or can be interpreted through ideal models (Dredge and Lawrence, 2007; Hall, 2000a; Pforr, 2001; 2005) such as the traditions outlined in Figure 3.2²³.

²² The same idea has been discussed with respect to various goods and services, types of tourists and stakeholders with their values and interests, impacts of tourism activities, and associations of travel and hospitality with other tourism-related sectors (Baud-Bovy, 1982; Burns, 2004; Getz, 1993; Gunn and Var, 2002; Hall, 2000a; Human, 1994; Leiper, 1990a; 1990b; McKercher, 1993; 1999; Mill and Morrison, 2009; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Tremblay, 1998; Walker *et al.*, 1999).

²³ Despite much prescriptive guidance (Marien and Pizam, 1997; Murphy, 1988; Pigram, 1990; Simmons, 1994) and a very few exceptions of empirical studies with partly positive findings (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; 2000; Gunn and Var, 2002), there is little evidence to suggest that the (bottom-up) community

Due to the exhibited divergence between theory and practice, what matters in the conceptual intervention of systems thinking is the impartial predilection to see that “*the future remains pregnant with a surplus of possibilities*” (Jessop, 2005a: 53). As well as recognizing the substance of ‘*location-specific factors*’, in the sense that each destination requires a distinctive mix of strategies to pursue sustainability and competitiveness (Hunter, 1997: 864; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2007; Pike, 2004), this predilection captures the dynamic nature of tourism planning.

tradition has prevailed over (top-down) boosterist, tokenistic and ad-hoc practices (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Cooper and Flehr, 2006; Godfrey, 1998; Joppe, 1996; Pforr, 2001; 2007b; Simpson, 2001; Taylor, 1995; Timothy, 1998; 2007; Tosun 2000; 2006; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Vernon et al., 2005).

Concerns also surface because of either a lack of consensus among stakeholders about the meaning of and the proper path to sustainability (Berry and Ladkin, 1997; Bianchi, 2004; Burns and Sancho, 2003; Meethan, 1997; Strange, 1999; Timur, 2003a) or interruptions in planning implementation due to political and technical challenges (Baidal, 2004; Gunn and Var, 2002; Pigram, 1990; Pforr, 2007a; Tosun, 2001; Tosun and Jenkins, 1996; 1998).

Figure 3.2: Tourism Planning Approaches: Assumptions, Problem Definition, Methods, and Models

Planning Traditions	Underlying Assumptions and Related	Definition of the Tourism Planning	Some Examples of Related Methods	Some Examples of Related
Boosterism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism is inherently good • Tourism should be developed • Cultural and natural resources should be exploited • Industry as expert • Development defined in business/corporate terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many tourists can be attracted and accommodated? • How can obstacles be overcome? • Convincing hosts to be good to tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion • Public relations • Advertising • Growth targets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demand forecasting models
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism equal to other industries • Use tourism to: create employment, earn foreign revenue and improve terms of trade, encourage regional development, overcome regional economic disparities • Planner as expert • Development defined in economic terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can tourism be used as a growth pole? • Maximisation of income and employment multipliers • Influencing consumer choice • Providing economic values for externalities • Providing economic values for conservation purposes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supply-demand analysis • Benefit-cost analysis • Product-market matchir • Development incentives • Market segmentation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management processes • Tourism master plans • Motivation • Economic impact • Economic multipliers • Hedonistic pricing
Physical - Spatial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism as a resource user • Ecological basis to development • Tourism as a spatial and relational phenomenon • Environmental conservation • Development defined in environmental terms • Preservation of genetic diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical carrying capacity • Manipulating travel patterns and visitor flows • Visitor management • Concentration of dispersal of visitors • Perceptions of natural environment • Wilderness and national park management • Designation of environmentally sensitive areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecological studies • Environmental impact assessment • Regional planning • Perceptual Studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial patterns and processes • Physical impacts • Resort morphology • Limits of acceptable change • Recreational opportunity spectrum • Tourism opportunity spectrum • Destination lifecycles

Planning Traditions	Underlying Assumptions and Related	Definition of the Tourism Planning	Some Examples of Related Methods	Some Examples of Related Models
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for local control • Search for balanced development • Search for alternatives to mass tourism development • Planner as facilitator rather than expert • Development defined in socio-cultural terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How to foster community control? • Understanding community attitudes towards tourism • Understanding the impacts of tourism on a community • Social impact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community development • Awareness and education • Attitudinal surveys • Social impact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecological view of community • Social/perceptual carrying capacity • Attitudinal change • Social multiplier
Sustainable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration of economic, environmental, and socio-cultural values • Tourism planning integrated with other planning processes • Holistic planning • Preservation of essential ecological processes • Protection of human heritage and biodiversity • Inter- and intra- generational equity • Achievement of a better balance of fairness and opportunity between nations • Planning and policy as argument • Planning as process • Planning and implementation as two sides of the same coin • Recognition of political dimension of tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding the tourism system • Setting goals, objectives and priorities • Achieving policy and administrative coordination in and between the public and private sectors • Cooperative and integrated control systems • Understanding the political dimension of tourism • Planning for tourism that meets local needs and trades successfully in a competitive marketplace • Change as multi-scalar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic planning to supersede conventional approaches • Raising producer awareness • Raising consumer awareness • Raising community awareness • Stakeholder input • Policy analysis • Evaluative research • Political economy • Aspirations analysis • Stakeholder audit • Environmental analysis and audit • Interpretation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Systems models • Integrated models focused on places and links and relationships between such places • Resources as culturally constituted • Environmental perception • Business ecology • Learning organisations • Governance
Source: Getz, 1987 (cited in Hall, 2000a; 2008: 52-54; Hall is responsible for the addition of the sustainable paradigm, as a response to boosterism, through the integration of elements from the economic, physical/spatial and community traditions)				

The main idea is that the ambition of sustainability is filtered through changing aspirations, habits, available resources, and perceived impacts (Butler, 1999). Alongside efforts to identify and analyse the fundamental and evolutionary aspects of the phenomenon of tourism (Butler, 2004; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Russell and Faulkner, 2004) and of tourism planning in terms of enhancing community participation (Bramwell and Lane, 2000b; Haywood, 1988; Jamal and Getz, 1997; Reed, 1997; Tremblay, 2000), a recent trend concerns studies devoted to holistic portrayals of tourism destinations. In the latter studies, each place is seen as a living organism and complex network whereby dynamic interrelationships flourish among actors, resources, and activities (d' Angella and Go, 2009; Elbe *et al.*, 2009; Halme, 2001; Pavlovich, 2001; 2003; 2008; Prats *et al.*, 2008; Schianetz *et al.*, 2007).

What provides a bridge between these distinct, yet closely intertwined research streams is the following conviction: learning from past events and engaging in adaptive management are essential qualities not only for individuals and groups but also for each destination as a whole. The outputs of these processes cannot be assessed in advance, because consensus building goes through negotiations and conflicts within highly diversified and fragmented environments (Scott *et al.*, 2008a; 2008b). Through adaptive management, however, the sustainable approach to tourism planning must be regarded as an evolutionary process that has to “*accept and embrace uncertainty*” while dealing with contingent actions, outcomes, and reactions (Reed, 1997: 335; *cf.* Schianetz *et al.*, 2007).

Though monitoring and adaptive management are essential, building collective learning and mediating between conflicting interests are genuinely political processes²⁴. Political

²⁴ “*Planning is highly political*” and “*the goal of sustainability is not a given*” (Hall, 2000a: 205).

analysis is deemed necessary before it can be addressed what elements comprise the goal of sustainability. In a re-conceptualisation of sustainable tourism, the political flavour of Miller and Twining-Ward's thesis of complex adaptive systems resides on the conviction that the journey to tourism sustainability can be nothing but '*stakeholder-driven*' (2005: 45; emphasis on original; cf. Swarbrooke, 1999). While considering, however, the importance of integrating the perspectives of tourism stakeholders with diverse claims and interests, it must be remembered that ideational factors do not adhere to the framework of political ideology "*as a source of authority for policy options*". Rather, they broadly incorporate "*sets of assumptions about appropriate, legitimate and acceptable behaviour*" (Treuren and Lane, 2003: 13). Thus, the expressions and transformations of beliefs and values reflect the ways in which actors perceive the material realm and participate in it (Belsky, 2004; Hay, 2002; Stevenson *et al.*, 2008).

The dynamic nature of ideational factors adds a relational-evolutionary element at the core of systems thinking. As the ideas of stakeholders change under the influence of historical events and context-specific realities, so does the tourism policy and planning context due to individual and collective actions (Dredge, 2001; 2007; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b; Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Hence, studying complex processes such as the path to sustainable tourism, whose conceptualisation is the product of socio-political constructions, requires theory-informed accounts of the character and conversions of social practices and meanings (Bramwell, 2004b; Bramwell and Lane, 2005; Dredge, 2006a; Jenkins, 2001; McCool, 2001; Pforr, 2001; Treuren and Lane, 2003). This study draws on the paradigm of NI to combine relational-evolutionary thinking with a fresh view on the institutional analysis of tourism governance.

New Institutionalism and Tourism Governance

Having embraced in Chapter Two the idea that “*governance is produced in and through institutions*” (Goodwin and Painter, 1997: 22), this thesis uses the principles of NI to respond to the symptoms of a long-standing controversy. Perhaps the first seeds of institutional analysis in tourism inquiry were sown in the mid 1970s, when Sessa (1976) noted the pressure that national institutional frameworks exert on tourism policy through the interplay of market and state mechanisms. However, the study of institutions was overlooked for years as a result of the wider lack of political analysis in tourism. In the middle 1990s, Michael Hall (1994) and Jenkins (1995: 25) criticised this negligence and backed its remedy as a means of understanding “*the way in which politicians, government departments and authorities, bureaucrats, interest groups, the media and others perceive, understand and act out their roles*”. The conclusion is that any effort to revisit and update the analysis of institutions in tourism policy and planning cannot be detached from two distinct, yet interrelated trends in the respective literature. As it is summarized in Appendix C, these trends reflect the changing nature of government involvement along with the steadily rising role of regional-local authorities and interest groups. Together, these trends set the foundations for a re-conceptualisation of tourism politics in the light of the underlying assumptions of NI.

Through the lenses of NI, the examination of tourism governance departs from interpretations of institutions based exclusively on the influence of political cultures and state activities (Veal, 2002; Wanhill, 2000)²⁵. It also makes a distinction from historical accounts that provide informative descriptions, yet neglect to integrate the perceptions of state and non-state actors and subsume references to institutions into an explicit theoretical framework (cf. Baidal, 2003; Deegan and Dineen, 2000; Desforges, 2000; Goymen, 2000; Leontidou, 1998). More specifically, this study adopts a relational-evolutionary perspective on the scrutiny of the multifaceted, dynamic and multi-scalar institutional expressions alongside their impact on tourism governance. To the extent that institutions stem from but also affect people's actions, the dialectic of structure and agency is perceived as having the potential to unravel their inter-subjective nature (Hay, 2002). The current research is premised on the idea that institutional arrangements reflect on both material and ideational structures including formal and informal conditions, patterns of practices, and assumptions that evolve through path-dependent and contingent processes. It is the spatio-temporally specific synthesis of all these arrangements whereby the foundations are set up to enable interactions among/between state and non-state actors, link scales and sectors, and minimize disorder. In Dredge and Jenkins' words:

“Institutional arrangements are those frameworks within which planning and policy take place. They are sets of established rules, procedures, customs, laws, conventions, and behaviours that shape the ways in which tourism planning and policy making are undertaken. Institutional arrangements regulate, directly or indirectly, political and social life and are the frameworks through which issues and debates percolate and are turned into government policy and action” (2007b: 33).

²⁵ See Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b for a critique of state-centred and cultural approaches to studies of institutions.

What the last part of this definition highlights is the interdependence but not equation of government involvement with the effects of institutional arrangements. While national governments shift their attention from direct intervention in the economy to spatial planning and tourism marketing, *“the role of persuasion, argument and the creation of partnerships with various stakeholder groups becomes all the more important”* (Hall, 2000a; 156). Lennon *et al.* (2006: 7) conceive the contemporary role of government as that of *“coordinator, or catalyst for tourism development”*, although this is by no means a straightforward and easy task.

There are no universal recipes to achieve coordination and capture the context-specific factors shaping the nature of government involvement in tourism (Cooper and Flehr, 2006; Dredge and Jenkins, 2003b; Elliott, 1997; Joppe, 1995; Kerr, 2003; Meethan, 1998; Pearce, 1989; Pforr, 2001). In each country, region and locality these conditions and factors are unique *“constituent parts of the policy process, not mere constraints or background”* (Davis *et al.*, 1993; cited in Pforr, 2005: 328). Their influence transcends the identification of differences between unitary and federal systems (Veal, 2002) or generalizations about the progress of devolution (Bramwell, 2004c; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). For instance, Turkey is a developing country in which decentralisation and the policy-making capacity of local authorities are curtailed by the absence of politically influential sub-national structures. This is regarded as the aftermath of national governments’ reluctance to combine the delegation of administrative powers with the transfer of necessary financial resources, and to clarify the confusing and fragmented framework of relations and responsibilities between levels of administration (Goymen, 2000; Tosun and Jenkins, 1996; Yuksel *et al.*, 2005).

It seems that institutional arrangements reflect on the embedded particularities of each country and destination. Evidence from Turkey concurs with the discussion in Chapter Two (see section 2.5 and Appendix B) about mixed results in devolution among Southern European countries. Greece, in particular, despite following certain steps towards Europeanization and the modernisation of public administration, is still considered a country in which “*national planning remains very important*” (Bramwell, 2004a: 37) and patterns of coordination are still at their infancy. According to these examples, institutional arrangements “*cast a wide net*” (Hall and Jenkins, 1995: 21), and critically shape the governance of tourism development while spanning across professional sectors, groups of actors, scales, and policy issues.

Through institutions there is potential to see beyond spirited, yet intellectually overlapping conceptions of coordination and cooperation (Elbe *et al.*, 2009; Fyall and Garrod, 2004; Hall, 2000a; 2000b; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Long, 1997; Palmer, 2009). Such conceptions tend to distinguish formal from informal relational practices, although both terms convey the collaborative elements of participation and interaction. From a ‘New Institutional’ viewpoint, it is considered more beneficial to concentrate on the strengths and weaknesses of spatio-temporally specific structural conditions. These aspects ensue from the co-evolution of both formal and informal structures, practices and behaviours. Because the state bears the primary responsibility for mediating between competing interests and claims and protecting public interest through market regulation, the legitimacy of its coordinating role is believed to last along with the capacity to secure the reproduction of capitalist accumulation (See Giddens, 1998; cited in Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b: 53-54; also Bramwell and Cox, 2009; Britton, 1991; Hall, 2000a; 2000b; Jeffries, 2001; Pearce, 1992; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998).

For both state and non-state actors, however, institutions in each context and conjuncture entail a different set of rules of the game in terms of opportunities and constraints shaping the course of future developments (Kerr, 2003; Hall, 1998a; Treuren and Lane, 2003; Williams and Shaw, 1998a; 1998b). Unless individuals and interest groups comprehend the influence that these “*extensive and pervasive forces*” (Hall and Jenkins, 1995: 21) exert upon their behaviour, the ability to accommodate their aspirations may not improve. This can be valid when bureaucracy and weak mechanisms are to blame for poor public policy implementation or when interest groups continue employing the same tactics without improving lobbying over time. In short, “*the state, its structural capacity and the strength of interest groups depending on the current embedded set of institutions surrounding it, can determine the inclusion or exclusion of interests from the policy domain*” (Evans, 1995: cited in Treuren and Lane, 2003: 11). Treuren and Lane (2003) note that some institutions are more resilient than others, and resist change persistently. Yet, the processes behind either the rise and fall of institutional ensembles or their stable reproduction outline a holistic perspective on tourism governance and power games.

A Relational Conception of Power in Tourism Policy and Planning

Together with insights into the nature and quality of tourism governance NI provides an alternative avenue for scrutinizing power in tourism policy research²⁶, and transcending debates founded on the concept’s overt and hegemonic manifestations. The seminal work of Mowforth and Munt (2003) has viewed uneven development along with patterns of

²⁶ That is a potentially significant contribution because “*power governs the interaction of individuals, organisations and agencies influencing, or trying to influence, the formulation of tourism policy and the manner in which it is implemented*” (Hall, 1994: 52).

economic and cultural dominance as principal sources of power inequalities in tourism relations between 'First' and 'Third' world countries. In the UK, Greenwood (1993) has referred to '*power dependence*' to explain resource-centred national interactions between governments and business interest groups. This conception is consistent with the theoretical tradition of corporatism whose identification in tourism policy often coincides with tokenistic practices. Business interest groups capitalise on their advantageous position to bargain with governments and impose their agendas in the public policy sphere against the claims of voluntary groups and residents (Hall, 2000b; Kerr, 2003; Meethan, 1997; Page and Hall, 2003; Strange, 1999; Timothy, 2007). This resource-centred conception of power does not also exclude the possibility of ephemeral or stable orchestrated coalitions, between political personnel and a minority of robust entrepreneurs and property owners, which restrain the ability of interest groups outside these coalitions²⁷.

Krutwayscho and Bramwell (2010) are critical, however, of utter top-down and bottom-up interpretations, which tend to ignore the ongoing tension and struggles between perceptually more and less powerful actors in tourism policy-making and implementation. Hence, though educative, a large volume of power discourses in tourism policy is believed to convey a spirit of conformism. Their analysis of inequalities and resource imbalances is not linked with an equally laborious exploration of the margins of less influential actors to negotiate, resist, manoeuvre, and potentially provoke shifts of power (Bramwell, 2004c; Church, 2004; Church and Coles, 2007; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Hall, 2007; Marzano, 2008; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2002; Nordin and Svennson, 2007; Raffay, 2007; Reed, 1997). Hence, Church and Ravenscroft recommend:

²⁷ For theoretical reviews and empirical examinations of elite and regime theories in tourism see (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Britton, 1991; Conti and Perelli, 2007; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b; Gill, 2007; Jenkins and Dredge, 2007; Laslo, 2003; Long, 2000; Maitland, 2006; Thomas and Thomas, 2005).

“If tourism research is to respond to the long-standing theoretical debates over power, then the basic foundation on an understanding of power in tourism must be to reveal the concentrations of power that stem from the power relations based on the socio-spatial and historical interactions between actors, social groups, institutions and structure” (2007: 174).

In relational terms, the key to understanding power lies in the ways in which individuals and groups interact and shape their contexts while dealing with the idiosyncrasies of each place and their own (Allen, 2003; Bramwell, 2004c; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Church, 2004; Church and Ravenscroft, 2007; Coles and Scherle, 2007; Doorne, 1998; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; 2004; Hay, 2002; Reed, 1997; Tyler and Guerrier, 1998; Yeung, 2005). Power as context-shaping does not ignore resource imbalances and the expressions of well-perceived inequalities, recognized through overt and covert manifestations of action and inaction, yet rejects that power is solely possessed by one actor or organization over another. Power as context-shaping incorporates latent manifestations whereby patterns of bias and inequality, such as the authority of certain actors and the exclusion of others from decision-making, evolve through the interplay of competing interests and perceptions at different levels. What matters is the institutionalisation of power relations in tourism and how the different manifestations of power become an integral aspect of context-specific values and institutions (Caffyn and Jobbins, 2003; Hannam, 2002; Marzano, 2008). In Morgan and Prichard’s words: *“Power over tourism development is not just wielded by interest groups but is rooted in social relations and can be used to set social norms and wield influence over other social groups”* (1999: cited in Church, 2004: 565).

In considering the multi-scalar institutionalisation of tourism practices, power is seen through its behavioural and emancipatory constituents. Attention is directed to the recursive efforts of actors to understand and deal with structural opportunities and

constraints, including the rest of perceptions and initiatives surrounding them, while trying to maintain or enhance their own capabilities and (re)define the course of action of others (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Hay, 1995; 2002). Though uncertain, thus, in relational terms “*empowerment is always a possibility*” (Church and Coles, 2007: 273). Differing degrees of empowerment are not merely a matter of resources possession. In relational terms, a shift of focus is required on the ways in which knowledge, experiences, perceptions, motives, tactics, and relations shape the mobilisation of resources as a means of achieving goals and resolving problems in individual or joint action (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004; Few, 2002; Healey *et al.*, 2003). Hannam (2002) is adamant in his suggestions for the employment of sophisticated theoretical frameworks in the investigation of power relations in tourism. As such, the conceptual framework of SRA can contribute to tourism policy debates over power while considering the existing literature on tourism collaboration and governance.

Theoretical Approaches to Tourism Collaboration and Governance

Alongside historical accounts of tourism public policy, I have opted to focus on relations between the public sector and interest groups to justify the introduction of a relational-evolutionary perspective on tourism governance. First, this study shares concerns over the integration of communities’ needs and aspirations in tourism planning (Marien and Pizan, 1997; Murphy, 1988; Simmons, 1994). It does not rely, however, on the romantic fallacy to assume either “*that all parties (beforehand) have an equal opportunity (and even capacity) to participate in the political process of community development*” (Joppe: 1995: 478) or that power can be fairly dispersed and balanced merely through the establishment

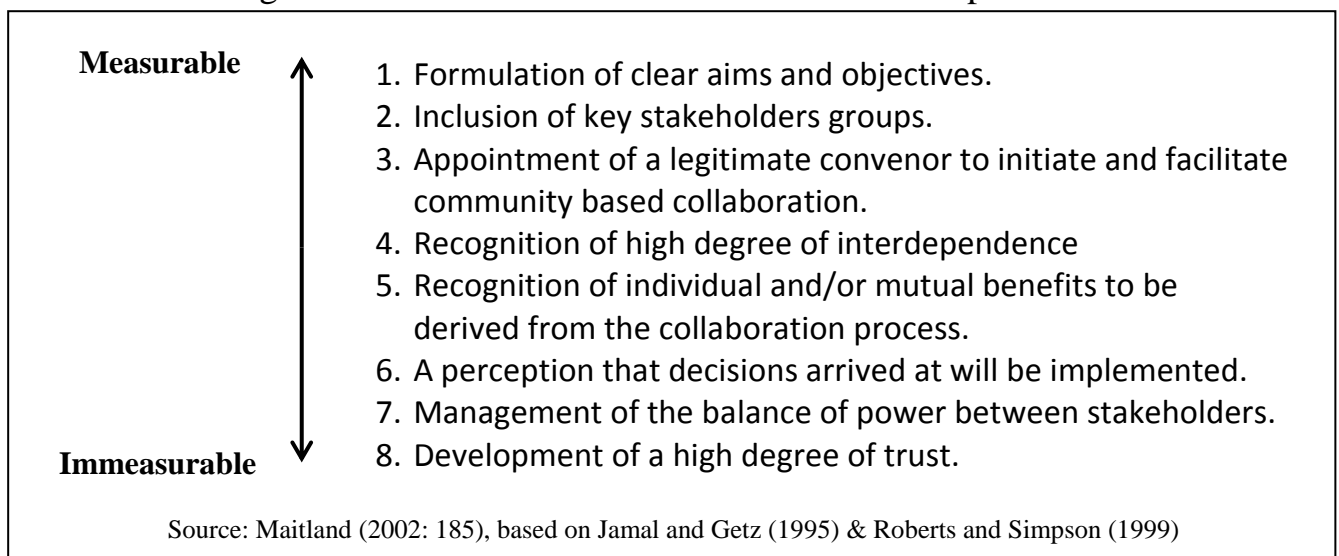
of forums, committees and other participatory mechanisms (Aas, *et al.*, 2005; Bianchi, 2003; Hall, 2000a; Jamal and Getz, 2000; Joppe: 1995; Taylor, 1995; Yuksel *et al.*, 1999). Instead, the stratification of power is seen as embedded in spatio-temporally specific socio-political contexts, following the anti-pluralistic recommendation of Reed from her investigation of citizen-driven tourism planning in Canada:

“Theories of collaboration must incorporate power relations as an explanatory variable that demonstrates why collaborative efforts succeed or fail, rather than as an instrumental variable that suggests how power can be balanced or convened” (1997: 589).

Second, as it is discussed in Chapter Four, the construction of research sampling has been based on the identification techniques of stakeholder theory. Stakeholder theory *“points to the underlying plurality of organisational interest groups and the political nature of organisational goal-setting and policy-implementation”* (Treuren and Lane, 2003: 4), which are very pertinent to studies of tourism policy and planning (Currie *et al.*, 2009; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2000; Mitchell *et al.*, 1997; Robson and Robson, 1996; Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005; Timur, 2003a; Yuksel *et al.*, 1999). Arguing that destinations are complex systems of competing and overlapping roles, values and interests, Sautter and Leissen (1999) point out the strength of stakeholder theory lies in its ability to examine both the strategic orientations of each stakeholder and the aggregate impact of individual and collective actions. Since this impact stems from processes of consensus building and conflict, stakeholder theory understands power through the output of interactive processes (*cf.* Hardy and Beeton, 2001; Timur, 2003a; Treuren and Lane, 2003).

The latter characteristics have led over time to the intellectual amalgamation of stakeholder theory with a third stream of research focusing on the management of inter-organizational relations and partnerships²⁸. The work of Gray (1985; 1996; and Wood, 1991) has been particularly influential in the literature of tourism because of its straightforwardness in the identification of phases and conditions, which can be tested to inform the investigation of partnership establishment and progression²⁹. The progressive nature of tourism collaboration studies is evident in the work of Maitland (2002 – Figure 3.3). This scholar has examined collaborative aspects of tourism management in Cambridge on the basis of six factors identified by Jamal and Getz (1995) along with the supplementary factors of power and trust added by Roberts and Simpson (2000).

Figure 3.3: Critical Factors in Tourism Partnership Success



²⁸ See Fyall and Garrod (2004) for a detailed overview of relevant theoretical approaches in tourism.

²⁹ Scholars have attempted since the early 1990s to construct or test typologies of tourism partnerships (Fennell and Butler, 2003; Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002; March and Wilkinson, 2009; Selin, 2000; Timothy, 1998; Wang and Xiang, 2007), elucidate the stages of their evolution and the characteristics of their organizational status (Caffyn, 2000; Palmer and Bejou, 1995; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Wang, 2008), and provide suggestions on the factors and conditions that affect their performance and facilitate or constrain the strengthening of tourism collaboration (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2002; Naipaul *et al.*, 2009; Parker, 2000; Selin and Beason, 1991; Vernon *et al.*, 2005; Wang and Fesenmaier, 2007).

Despite the prescriptive nature of partnership success factors, the incorporation of the themes of power balance and trust-building signifies two conceptual advancements. First, it goes beyond the tendency of conventional collaboration debates to presume a spirit of good will over power reallocation and goal alterations in tourism policy-making (Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010; Reed, 1997; 1999; Roberts and Simpson, 2000). Among barriers impeding the rise of environmental issues in collaborative tourism policy-making, Vernon *et al.* (2005: 341) have addressed the private sector's reluctance to share power and responsibility due to "*a general apathy among a large proportion of businesses, which may be difficult to overcome, whatever policies or initiatives are introduced*".

Second, the same themes place the nature and evolution of tourism collaboration into a wide context of behaviours and perceptions with direct and indirect effects on partnerships (Bramwell and Lane, 2000a; 2000b; Bramwell and Cox, 2009). Palmer and Bejou (1995) interpret the growth of co-marketing alliances as a consequence of favourable prospects. Potential members hope that the relinquishment of their autonomy will be outweighed by reduced risk and uncertainty through the exchange of material and knowledge resources with partners. Other studies refer to the lure of enhanced learning skills as an intrinsic aspect and key motive in the development of corporate and cross-sectoral collaborative structures (Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010; Halme, 2001; March and Wilkinson, 2009; Pavlovich, 2003; Schianetz *et al.*, 2007; Scott *et al.*, 2008a; Tremblay, 1998; 2000). At the same time, sources of change in the roles of partners and their ability to provide financial, technical and moral support over the lifetime of a collaborative project can also be traced to endogenous functions and characteristics as much as exogenous factors and developments (Hall, 2000b; Long, 1994; Vernon *et al.*, 2005). As the case study of Cambridge reveals, the sources of power and trust transcend the epicentre of single

partnerships. For Maitland (2002: 191), these themes stem from and conversely impact on institutions and contextual idiosyncrasies; for instance, the extent to which there is an “*established culture of joint working*” at the regional-local level and respective authorities play a leading role in tourism-related initiatives. As partnerships do not remain static, so do not the complex systems of values and rules of the game in which partnerships are embedded. Within these systems, the concept of policy networks can be used to describe how partners act collectively and shape the politics and dynamics of tourism destinations.

Policy Networks in Tourism Governance

Framing the analysis of tourism governance around the paradigm of NI, the stratification of power is said to be dependent on the recursive and multi-scalar interplay of individuals and groups with the structural conditions of specific spatio-temporal contexts. In this case, it is essential an examination of the role and performance of actors and partnerships in parallel with an investigation of the “*variety of networks, giving a complex structure to the environment*” of tourism policy (Long, 1994: 486). This idea exemplifies concerns over linkages between different levels of analysis, and highlights the genuine interdependency of actors and structures involved in tourism policy and planning (Bramwell and Lane, 2000b; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Dredge, 2006a; 2006b; Dredge and Lawrence, 2007; Hall, 2000a; 2000b; Hannam, 2002; Kerr, 2003; Long, 1994; Nording and Svensson, 2007; Pearce, 1992; Selin and Beason, 1991; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Tremblay, 1998; Tyler and Dinan, 2001a; 2001b).

Based on the reductionist depiction of stable and static connections between different components (Scott *et al.*, 2008a), scholars have lately represented the complex systems of

tourism destinations as networks whereby sectoral activities and cross-sectoral relations occur (March and Wilkinson, 2009; Prats *et al.*, 2008; Scott *et al.*, 2008a; Scott *et al.*, 2008b; Timur, 2003b; Timur and Getz, 2008). Hall (1998a), however, along with Le Pelley and Laws (1998) and Long (1994) had earlier noted that the performance of tourism development and collaboration at the destination's level depend on the facilitative and constraining character of institutional, ideational and location-specific factors. Likewise, Tyler and Dinan (2001a; 2001b) have explored the contribution of interest groups to the rise and evolution of tourism policy networks at the national level in England. These authors frame their discussion in a way that enables a holistic overview of linkages between policy networks, the core of state institutions in terms of government departments and policies concerned with tourism, and additional aspects such as power arrangements and ideologies. More recently, Dredge and Pforr (2008) have systematically distinguished tourism policy networks from other network forms. Their *raison d'être* is based on the sense that the emergence, operation and evolution of the former are intimately related to the practices and institutions of tourism public policy. In the authors' words:

“Policy networks do not operate independently and outside the influence of government. Policy networks involve the exercise of government authority in collaboration with an active citizenry. They depart from a top-down bureaucratic approach to policy-making but nevertheless require government support if action/implementation is to occur” (Dredge and Pforr, 2008: 67).

Allied to the ideas of the ‘*governance*’ school of thought (Hay, 2002; Hoff, 2003; Mayntz, 2003), like Dredge (2006a: 566), I consider the afore-mentioned statement and view the policy network concept as “*a lens for understanding the social interrelations of policy-making*”. This study does not merely endorse recommendations over the incorporation of

network, dyad, and organizational levels of analysis (Selin and Beason, 1991) in accounts of conflict and consensus-building in tourism policy-making. Instead, it traces “*the pattern of linkages and interactions*” (Borzel, 1998: 259) that facilitates and hampers political steering through the coupling and co-evolution of institutional arrangements with hierarchical and heterarchical modes of coordination. This approach has potential to clarify the position of the policy network concept in the study of tourism governance because:

“Policy networks can be depicted as mediating between the micro- and the macro-levels, creating a connection between the wider societal structures and individual agency. From the relational perspective, policy networks are seen as arising out of complex social relationships in specific contexts and as dynamic, emergent, and characterized by contingent openness” (Bramwell and Pomfrett, 2007; cited in Bramwell and Meyer, 2007: 769).

Dialectical thinking over the structure-agency debate resides behind the conceptualisation of tourism policy networks as political institutions at a meso level of analysis. Blended with the assumptions of the NI paradigm, the investigation of policy networks in tourism governance corresponds to “*the idea of the use of multiple approaches to understand policy-making*” (Stevenson *et al.*, 2008: 734). This amalgamation of theories has certain implications associated with the explanatory power of the policy network concept and the inquiry of political change and power relations in tourism politics.

First, the making and implementation of tourism policy, incorporating measures for sectoral and sub-sectoral issues and facing the approval or disapproval of interest groups, are not understood as the outputs of primarily bureaucratic procedures. Instead, they are believed to stem from formal and informal institutional expressions of the reiterative but random interplay of government and society (Dredge, 2006a; 2006b; Hall and Jenkins,

2004; Ladkin and Bertamini, 2002; Long, 1994; Palmer and Bejou, 1995; Tyler and Dinan, 2001a). Consistent with the recommendations of Hoff (2003) and Hay (1998), the position of tourism policy networks in this conception revolves around issue- and context-dependent efforts and regularised practices. In terms of tourism governance, these practices pertain to the building of consensus, the sound delivery of tourism policy and planning, and steps towards the sector's sustainable development and enhanced competitiveness. Hence, tourism policy networks are seen here as “*strategic alliances forged around a common agenda (however contested, however dynamic) of mutual advantage through collective action*” (Hay, 1998: 38). Remembering that research on policy networks has been mainly carried out in Northern Europe and the US, this inclusive definition allows for the concept's investigation in additional countries and areas. Also, this definition does not bear positive connotations to mislead readers as to equate the emergence of policy networks with the transition to forms of good governance (Pforr, 2005; 2007b).

Second, it is highlighted the need for tourism political analysis to be based on relational-evolutionary thinking. This is important because the stratification of power along with patterns of conflict and consensus take form from but also affect the performance of embedded social practices and processes within and outside policy networks. Power in behavioural and relational terms is seen through the effects of the mobilisation of resources, while the latter ensues from perceptions of structural conditions, possible courses of action, and contingent results (Bramwell, 2004c; 2006; Church, 2004; Church and Coles, 2007; Church and Ravenscroft, 2007; Few, 2002; Goverde and Van Tatenhove, 2000; Hall, 2007; Hay, 1998; Hoff, 2003).

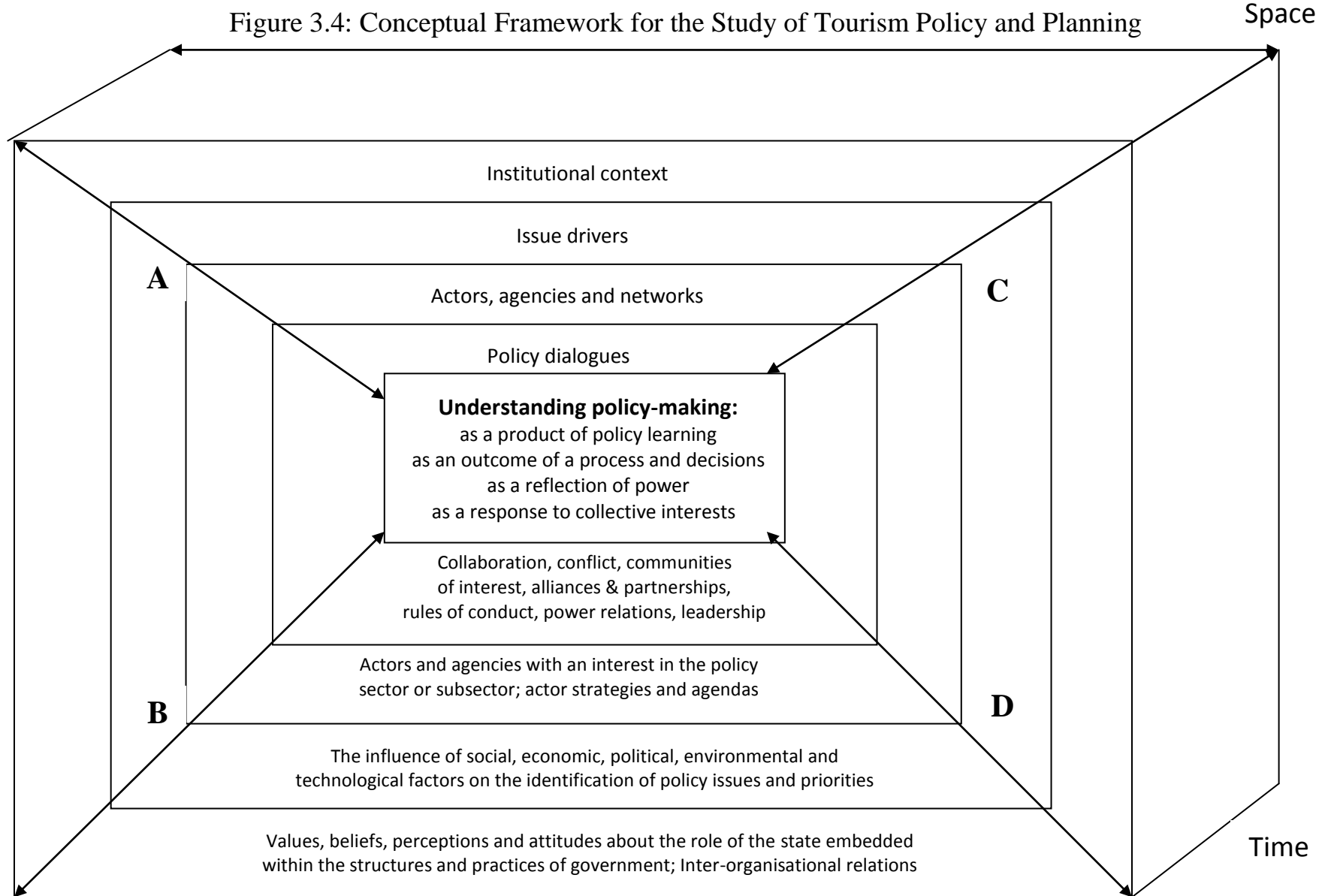
Bramwell and Meyer (2007: 769) examine tourism policy-making in the island of Rugen, Former East Germany, by framing their analysis around the co-constitutive and co-generative interplay of structure and agency. Their main concern is the analysis of tourism policy networks through “*a relational and dialectical approach focused on social relations*” (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007: 769). Tracing the recent past of tourism development, in the light of economic and socio-political developments after the Berlin Wall’s fall, the authors explore the qualities and transformations of policy networks along with the interventions of their members.

This endeavour leads to interpretations of tourism policy-making and power relations based on the contextually aggregate imprint of endogenous and exogenous (to policy networking) factors. While blending in an analytical manner the effects of these ostensibly distinct, yet closely interrelated factors, Bramwell and Meyer (2007: 785) conclude that in-depth knowledge over changes in tourism governance is drawn from “*the interplay of path-dependency and structural legacies with the contingency of path-creation and human agency*”. Interpreted through the perceptions and decisions of tourism stakeholders in well-defined contexts, the path-dependent and path-shaping attributes of the structure-agency dialectic outline the conception of tourism policy networks as political institutions. They also provide insight into the stratification of power and its context-shaping effects, and guide the exploration, description and understanding of tourism governance.

A Strategic-Relational Approach to Tourism Governance

In an attempt to reproduce the rationale of the conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 3.4, this study employs the SRA to outline a relational-evolutionary perspective on the study of political phenomena in tourism. Influentially, the SRA guides the analysis of the dynamics of institutions, policy networks, and power relations at different levels and scales of the tourism system. As well as providing an interpretive guide to narratives of tourism policy and planning, the operationalization of the SRA extends the structure-agency debate within the same literature and proposes its examination in different socio-political contexts (Davis, 2001). Basically, it integrates the investigation of institutions and cultural values with a conception of power founded on “*the ability of stakeholders to attain their goals and interests*” through a maze of structural opportunities and constraints (Caffyn and Jobbins, 2003: 228). However, when considering that “*understanding tourism policy and planning requires an appreciation of the complex and ever-changing world in which policy is made*” (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a: 20), the current operationalization of the SRA also adds an explanatory account of socio-political changes to the framework of Figure 3.4. As discussed in Chapter Two, studying in strategic-relational terms the governance of economic development involves explanatory narratives of processes of institutionalisation and political steering. Respectively, efforts to comprehend whether evidence of ‘structured coherence’ or ‘patterned incoherence’ characterises the imprint of socio-political order, in specific and well defined in space and time contexts, require the scrutiny of path-dependent and path-shaping attributes. Such attributes relate to the constitution, coupling and co-evolution of individuals, organisations, institutional arrangements and ensembles, partnerships and conflicts, and power effects.

Figure 3.4: Conceptual Framework for the Study of Tourism Policy and Planning

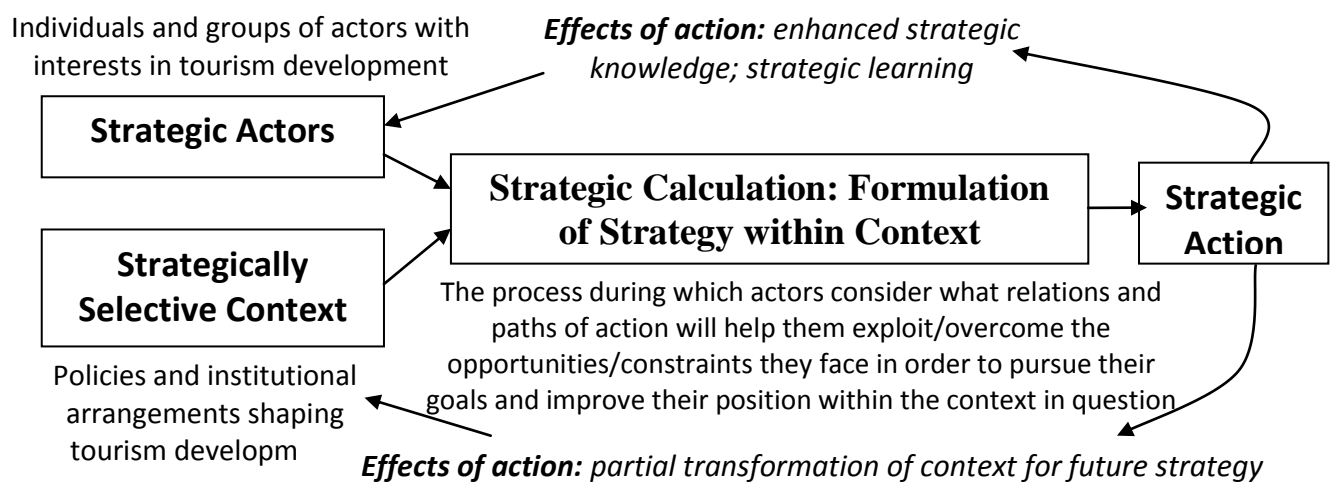


Where: A. Interdisciplinary work
B. Multiple levels of analysis (macro, meso and micro)
C. Use of a case study or case studies
D. Integrated description, explanation and theory building

Source; Hall (1994); updated by Dredge and Jenkins (2007b: 16)

In short, tourism governance in strategic-relational terms is conceived as: *‘the complex art of steering multiple agencies, institutions, and systems, involved in the practices and processes {of tourism policy and planning}, which are operationally autonomous from one another and structurally coupled’* (Jessop, 1997; cited in Thiel, 2009: 226). As it is illustrated in Figure 3.5, the dialectical rationale of the SRA is based on the concept of ‘strategy’, linking the longevity of strategically selective contexts with the recursive endeavours of strategic actors to transform the arenas of public action to their own benefit.

Figure 3.5: A Strategic-Relational Approach to the Governance of Tourism Development



Source: Adapted from Hay (2002: 131)

In this study, the articulation of strategic action is seen to permeate through the material and ideational factors that constitute the material and discursive selectivity of each context in terms of structural opportunities and constraints. What prevents, however, the self-identical reproduction of each strategically selective context and leads to only minimal variations is the aggregated shifting ability of actors to make sense of embedded structural conditions. Through the mutual influence of material factors and ideas, the learning capacity of individuals and groups together with reflexivity exhibited in the adjustment of

conscious and habitual practices are seen as critical determinants of the evolution and transformation of institutional configurations. Treuren and Lane (2003) come to a similar conclusion while delineating the boundaries of state behaviour in tourism policy and planning. In the authors' words:

“Not only are the boundaries fluid for economic, political and temporal reasons, but they are fluid because of the evolution in ‘ideas’, which can act, over time, to expand the set of possible activities or prevent others” (2003: 13).

In this highly complex and fluid environment, structure and agency are rendered interdependent. To shed light on this interdependence and its ongoing effects on tourism governance, the SRA does not detach the analysis of time- and place-specific events from their intrinsic dynamism. Instead, the SRA guides researchers to blend knowledge from the past with data on the spatio-temporal characteristics of contemporary events. The goal is to capture the essence of the co-constitution of structure and agency, and foresee the path of contingent developments. In strategic-relational terms, it is the evolutionary coupling of institutional arrangements and modes of coordination that provides insight into the structuring of tourism governance. That is because of the continuous endeavour of individuals and groups to deal with these configurations and pursue their aspirations. On these grounds, the next section explains why Athens, as a tourist-historic and capital city in Southern-Europe, comprises an interesting case study for the operationalization of the SRA to tourism governance.

3.4 A Strategic-Relational Approach to Tourism Governance in Athens

This section introduces the research setting of the thesis. The selection of Athens is justified while reviewing the urban tourism literature and identifying the city's relevant position. What facilitates understanding of the contextual complexity of tourism policy and planning is the depiction of Athens as a Southern European, tourist-historic and capital city. Consequently, the overview of Athens as an urban tourism destination and its relation to wider trends of urban planning and tourism development in Greece is combined with an investigation of political aspects. A key example is the operation of Athens as the capital city of an “*extremely centralist country*” even under the recent influence of Europeanization (Getimis and Hlepas, 2005: 65).

The Phenomenon and Study of Urban Tourism

A significant deal of research has revolved since the middle 1990s around the rise of post-modern cities as tourism destinations³⁰. Associated with the reorganization of urban economies through flexible patterns of production and consumption, tourism in European and US cities has not been merely seen as a source of employment response to de-industrialisation and an opportunity for urban regeneration (Ashworth and Page, 2010; Doorne, 1998; Fainstein and Judd, 1999a; 1999b; Jansen-Verbeke and Van de Wiel, 1995; Judd, 2003a; 2003b; Judd *et al.*, 2003; Hall, 1987; Law, 2002; Page and Hall, 2003; Shachar, 1995; Smith, 2007a; 2007b; Stabler, 1998; Tyler, 1998). More importantly,

³⁰ Syrjamaa (2000) traces the origins of the cultural popularisation of urban tourism to the interwar travel and recreation patterns of affluent groups in Western Europe. In terms of contemporary analysis, however, the rise of urban tourism is germane to the biography of post-modern cities (Gladstone, 1998; Page and Hall, 2003).

urban tourism has been considered a substantial ingredient of globalisation throughout a 30-year period during which “*the political management of towns and cities is framed in an entrepreneurial ideology*” (Britton, 1991: 468; cf. Harvey, 1989; 1990; Mcneil and While, 2001).

Regardless of the fragmentation of interests involved in urban tourism, which render the development of visionary partnerships anything but a politically untroubled process (Lutz and Ryan, 1997; Ashworth, 2003), entrepreneurialism has revived debates about modern relations between the state and civil society. The same applies to the orchestration of strategies aiming to bring a balance between the benefits of economic competitiveness and concerns over environmental and social impacts (Barke and Newton, 1995; Edwards *et al.*, 2008; Galdini, 2007; Hinch, 1996; Law, 1996a; 2002; Page and Hall, 2003; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2007; Timur, 2003a). For instance, urban tourism development in the UK since the 1990s typifies the way in which cities can be benefited by the restructuring and growing role of local governments to attracting and enabling investments, boosting local economy, and disengaging from the provision of market-oriented services. Yet, the governance of urban tourism remains dependent on the capacity of local governments to exercise innovative leadership as much as on the amalgamation and institutional expression of multiple interests and claims (Charlton and Essex, 1995; 1996; Church *et al.*, 2000; Jeffries, 2001; Law, 1996b; 2002; Meethan, 1998; Tyler, 1998)³¹.

³¹ In similar terms, studies from all over the world have explored patterns of collaboration articulated within destination management organizations and convention-visitors bureaus (see Artibise and Meligrana, 2003; Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Bramwell and Rawding, 1994; Haussermann and Colomb, 2003; Long, 2000; Naipaul *et al.*, 2009; O'Neill, 1998; Palmer and Bejou, 1995; Pike, 2004; Wober and Fesenmaier, 2010) as much as patterns of conflict. Indicatively contrasting examples are the contribution of the public-private partnership ‘Turisme de Barcelona’ (d’ Angella and Go. 2009; Duran, 2005; Garcia and Claver, 2003; Palomeque, 2001) versus concerted reactions in the part of voluntary groups against boosterist practices and the negative impacts of tourism development (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Meethan, 1997; Strange, 1999; Tyler, 1998).

Apart from the absence of a harmonious political environment (Ashworth, 2003), what complicate the political analysis of urban tourism and render generalisations precarious are the different manifestations of entrepreneurialism according to the socio-political particularities of each place (Doorne, 1998; Law, 2002). This does not deny the mediating role of post-modern and entrepreneurial city as “*a meeting ground for the global and local*” (Chang and Huang, 2004: 227) whereby heterogeneous forces and processes encourage urban tourism. Instead, the intrinsic complexity of tourism in cities reveals the diachronic nature of the recommendation of Tyler and Guerrier (1998: 235-36) that “*the study of urban tourism should embrace a multi-disciplined approach focusing on the management of change and the political nature of decision-making and policy development*”. The thesis assimilates this idea by guiding a theory-informed, institutionally-oriented and context-specific political analysis of the dynamic interplay of actors and structures involved in urban tourism (Ashworth and Page, 2010; Fainstein *et al.*, 2003a; 2003b; Maitland, 2002; 2006; Pearce, 2001). In this respect, context specificity does not entail that individual case studies can only speak for themselves. The enrichment of theoretical knowledge rather depends on linkages between case studies and wider trends across scales, sectors, and policy areas. Hence, a few words about the categorisation of Athens as an urban tourism destination are deemed necessary.

Tourism Development in Southern European, Tourist-Historic and Capital Cities

The first point of concern in respect to the categorisation of Athens as an urban tourism destination derives from the non-uniform display of entrepreneurialism in urban tourism geography. For instance, North American studies concentrate on relatively stable coalitions between local governments and entrepreneurs in an effort to explain

regeneration through tourism urbanization and the development of relevant infrastructure (Fairstein and Gladstone, 1999; Gill, 2007; Gladstone, 1998; Judd, 1999; 2003a; 2003b). Interestingly, Pearce (1998: 460) begins his discussion of tourism development in Paris from a rather different point while quoting Savitch's (1988) observation that "*government is the dominant force in initiating and supervising major development*" in the French capital city. Likewise, in the aftermath of the staging of mega-events and the construction of visitor attractions in four European cities, Van den Berg *et al.* (2003: 316) conclude that: "*the peculiarity of the European way mainly stands in the more active role taken by national governments in formulating the goals and setting the instruments for infrastructure developments*". Other studies also confirm difficulties in the identical reproduction of growth machine and urban regime analysis in European city destinations. The *raison d'être* is the energetic intervention of national governments in urban and heritage planning, environmental protection and tourism marketing through regulatory instruments and fiscal measures (Jeffries, 2001; Long, 2000; Maitland, 2006; Terhorst *et al.*, 2003). What this study highlights is the extent of this trend in Southern Europe, where late political reforms have not yet considerably strengthened the presence of regional-local authorities at the expense of the dominant role of national governments.

Besides the intensive nature of state intervention in Southern Europe, the second and third points of concern come from the scale³² in which the phenomenon of urban tourism is

³² Consensus on the requirement of a multi-scalar and integrative examination of the themes that shape urban tourism (Chang and Huang, 2004; Pearce, 2001; 2004) has been blended over time with several different, and often overlapping, connotations of the notion of 'urban'. For instance, much research deals with tourism development in specific parts of the urban fabric such as city-centres, ex-industrial areas, districts, precincts, and waterfronts (Avery, 2007; Hayllar *et al.*, 2008; Pearce, 1998b), yet there is also recognition of the regional patterns and impacts of urban tourism. This is not to directly confront Airey and Butler's viewpoint (1999; cited in Jeffries, 2001: 124) that "*above all, tourism has to be understood at the local, destination level*", but to consider whether the dynamics of specific city destinations acquire a largely sub-national character. Debates over the concepts of 'regionalism' and 'regionalisation', which reflect "*a*

examined and the different typologies of destinations including capital, cultural-art, high-amenity, industrial, resort, tourist-historic and world cities (Fainstein and Judd, 1999b; Law, 1996a; 2002; Page and Hall, 2003). Athens is not merely a tourist-historic city, well known for its cultural heritage, which faces the challenges of regulating tourism-related activities and enriching the portfolio of provided attractions and services. As Box 3.1 integrates knowledge of the typologies in which Athens belongs, it is also revealed that certain peculiarities pertain to its function as capital city. All these categorisations certify the importance of political analysis in urban tourism especially when Athens explicates how “*national governments invariably have special influence and interest in the city in which they are based, and the division of responsibilities between national and regional and local government can be complex*” (Maitland and Ritchie, 2009b: 266). Hence, the following discussion provides further clarifications on the path-dependent attributes of tourism development in Athens as well as on the peculiarities of its status as a tourism destination.

rescaling of politics and policy making to the regional level” (Pforr, 2007a: 288), are portrayed in political practices and ideologies responsible for the allocation of EU structural funds or the reconfiguration of ‘Regional Tourism Boards’ in England in 1998 alongside ‘Regional Development Agencies’ (Church *et al.*, 2000; Davidson and Maitland, 1997; Jeffries, 2001; Palmer, 2009; Thomas and Thomas, 1998). However, these concepts are also believed to have a practical value in the political analysis of urban tourism.

To discover the regional dimension of urban tourism requires attention to the anthropogenic aspects of its very constitution (Edwards *et al.*, 2008). This approach has certain implications because there are no definitive and unequivocal interpretations of tourism development boundaries (Pforr, 2007a). Based on the perceptions of others and their own at a given moment, what researchers can advantageously draw is a more or less representative outline of the dynamics of urban tourism in specific contexts. As far as “*a tourism region is a continuous and localized sub-national area unit*” (Tosun and Jenkins, 1996: 521), the precision of each interpretation depends on the utilisation of pertinent criteria (Chang, 1998; Jafari, 2000; Jenkins, 2000; Smith, 1995; Pearce, 1989) that reveal the regional characteristics of urban tourism and facilitate the analysis of its governance. These criteria are arguably the means through which “*a perceptually based definition of urban can provide a link between the cultural, political, physical, perceptual and economic aspects that must be integrated into urban tourism*” (Edwards *et al.*, 2008: 1036; based on McIntyre *et al.*, 2000). Building on this conception, Chapter Four justifies the identification of the boundaries of urban tourism development and collaboration in Athens according to a set of multi-thematic criteria.

Box 3.1: The Categorisation of Athens as an Urban Tourism Destination

Athens as a Southern-European City

In Southern Europe, the cultural and business strands of urban tourism are seen to diversify the predominant model of mass tourism (Barke and Towner, 1996; Bramwell, 2004b; King and Montanari, 1998; Leontidou, 1993; Lewis and Williams, 1998; Shaw and Williams, 1998; Valenzuela, 1998). As far as the manufacturing base of Southern European cities did never reach the Northern European scale, the rise of service economy was not primarily a consequence of widespread de-industrialisation. Along with the growth of a non-technocratic public sector it was rather a response to urgent employment needs, induced by domestic emigration and urbanisation. In the face of anti-planning attitudes, however, the post-war socio-economic formation cultivated traditional and spontaneous patterns of production and consumption, such as the growth of small-medium enterprises and the leisure appeal of *"cities that never sleep"* (Leontidou, 1993: 957), but also tolerated irregularities (Chorianopoulos, 2002; EUKN, 2005; Haddoc, 2003; Leontidou, 1990; Magone, 2003). The tacit acceptance of settlements in unregulated peri-urban areas and relations of clientelism between politicians, bureaucrats, economic elites, and party voters may reflect societies where the culture is dominated by *"values of ascription rather than achievement, of status rather than contract"* (Sapelli, 1995:93). These attitudes admittedly played a speculative role in the first steps of tourism development, and allowed boosterist practices especially during periods of political instability and authoritarian regimes (Apostolopoulos and Sonmez, 2001; Baidal, 2004; Garcia and Claver, 2003; Lewis and Williams, 1998; Leontidou, 1991; 1998; Vlami *et al.*, 2006; Williams, 2001).

Since the 1980s, tourism planning in Southern Europe has been modernized through democratization and reforms such as the empowerment of sub-national governments, the institutionalisation of public-private partnerships and the involvement of interest groups in decision-making; a corollary of EU guidelines and clauses (Baidal, 2003; Bramwell, 2004a; Marino, 2001; Williams, 2001; Williams and Shaw, 1998b). However, even in the case of a federal state like Spain, despite the delegation of urban planning and other powers to the regional departments of autonomous communities, the central government has sought to reassert its coordinating and funding authority. The national administration of 'Turespana' remains fully responsible for the country's international tourism promotion (Baidal, 2004; Marshall, 1996; 2000; Pearce, 1996c; 1997). Thus, it is no surprise that the unitary states of Portugal and Greece also face political and administrative challenges. National governments in these countries delay to address the gap between the rhetoric and implementation of devolution, and still maintain a central role in the formulation of programmes and the allocation of structural funds (Costa, 1996; Goldsmith, 2002; John, 2001; Lewis and Williams, 1998; Magone, 2003; Ramos *et al.*, 2000; Silva and Syrett, 2006; Van den Berg *et al.*, 2003). Hence, Bramwell cautions against misinterpretations while noting the Greek experience of the establishment of a striking number of municipalities, prefectures and regions:

"While such decentralisation may lend some support to the commentators who argue for a 'hollowing-out' of nation states, with national governments losing some power to more localised levels of government and to the EU, it is clear that national governments in Southern Europe generally retain very considerable influence" (2004a: 37).

Athens as a Capital City

Since the restoration of democracy in 1974, the pervasive influence of Greek governments has intensified the typical accumulation of forces, assets and activities upon the capital city's shoulders (Campbell, 2003; Dijkink, 2000; Hall, 2006a), and contributed to "*a more monocentric form of urban development at the national level, in and around the capital cities which form the magnets for immigration of local labour and inflow of international capital*" (Hall, 2006b: 272). For Peter Hall (2006a), there is a paradoxical dichotomy between EU policy aspirations towards polycentric patterns of urban development and the monocentric form identified in Madrid, Lisbon and Athens. This observation fits with the reluctance of Cochrane (2006) to link the bureaucratic nature of capital cities with entrepreneurialism. Interestingly, the qualities of capital cities and their leading national positions do not alter the fact that tourism development in Southern Europe first emerged as part of policies aiming to boost economic indicators in less prestigious areas. The recent rise of urban tourism has not subordinated conventional destinations. Nowadays, not only do capital cities look forward to expand and improve their functions as administrative centres and gateways to their countries, but aim to re-discover their cultural identities and upgrade their infrastructure as a means of establishing a formidable symbolic imagery of competitiveness and attractiveness for themselves and their countries (Andrew and Taylor, 2000; Maitland and Ritchie, 2009a).

In tandem with an explicit interest in the benefits of place marketing, tourism development has been recently recognized as a key component of this mentality. Controversy, however, often overshadows tourism politics in capital cities because of contextual particularities, institutional complexities, and a divergence of views over policy priorities between levels of government (Andrew and Taylor, 2000; Campbell, 2003; Claval, 2000; Hall, 2002; Maitland, 2009; Maitland and Ritchie, 2009a; Page and Hall, 2003; Pearce, 1998; Ritchie and Peirce, 2007; Van der Wusten, 2000). Hence, Maitland and Ritchie (2009b) call for more theoretically-informed attempts to investigate power relations and the governance of tourism development in capital cities.

Athens as a Tourist-Historic City

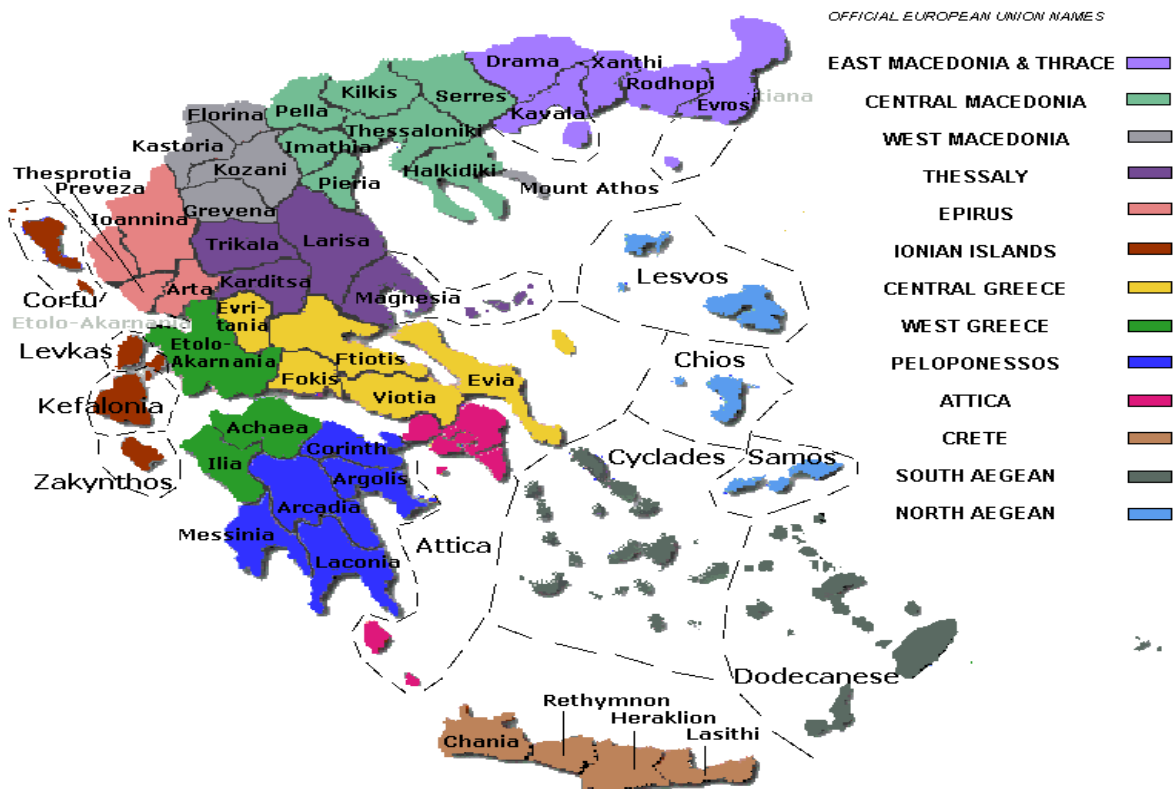
Given its well-known cultural heritage, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) include Athens among large multifunctional cities with tourist-historic elements. While several studies have discussed the importance of tourism planning and collaboration in monofunctional tourist-historic cities (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Glasson, 1994; Human, 1994; Le Pelley and Laws, 1998; Maitland, 2000; 2006; Meethan, 1997; Strange, 1999), there is a growing interest in the sources of reconciliation and conflict in large multifunctional cities in which "*the resource/demand distinction becomes untenable and the tourist-historic city becomes embroiled in much stronger crosscurrents of urban development*" (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000: 203; cf. Dahles, 1998; Dieckmann and Maulet, 2009; Haussermann and Colomb, 2003; Jansen-Verbeke and Wiel, 1995; Pearce, 1998; Smith et al, 2009; Van den Berg et al, 2003). There appears to be a rich portfolio of interrelated tourism management issues, upon which the realms of the public, private and voluntary sectors interact and express their views on the challenge of attaining economic, environmental and socio-cultural sustainability.

Athens: The Cradle of Western Civilisation and the Capital City of a Centralised State

Perhaps it is not untenable to presume that historic cities need to clarify ties with their past before they can evolve to successful destinations. Once upon a time the most powerful city of the ancient world around the Mediterranean and the birthplace of democracy and philosophy, Athens nowadays aims to define a contemporary image. Historically, the city was a top destination for traders and well-educated people during the ‘Golden Age’ of classical Greece as much as for wealthy *Cives Romani* in the years of Roman occupation (Daly, 1950). An interval of many centuries elapsed, however, under the shadow of the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman empires, before the Lord Elgin rediscovered this subtle cultural dimension, looted some of its most precious expressions, and sold them to the British Museum in 1816 at the dawn of preparations for the ‘War of Independence’ in 1821 (Fagan, 2006; Yale, 2004). The designation of Athens as the capital city of the newly founded Greek state in 1834 signified the belated beginning of the country’s modern history. Since then, Athens and the Attica region, as they are depicted in Figures 3.6 and 3.7, have been at the forefront of national events and transformations³³. This study concentrates on Athens, as the location of “*the most important cultural/archaeological tourist resources and ancillary facilities and services*” (Briassoulis, 1993: 287; cf. Asprogerakas, 2007) for travellers and visitors in Greece. Moreover, this study explores the nature of tourism politics in Athens from the 1980s onwards, with emphasis placed on the first years after the staging of the Olympic Games of 2004.

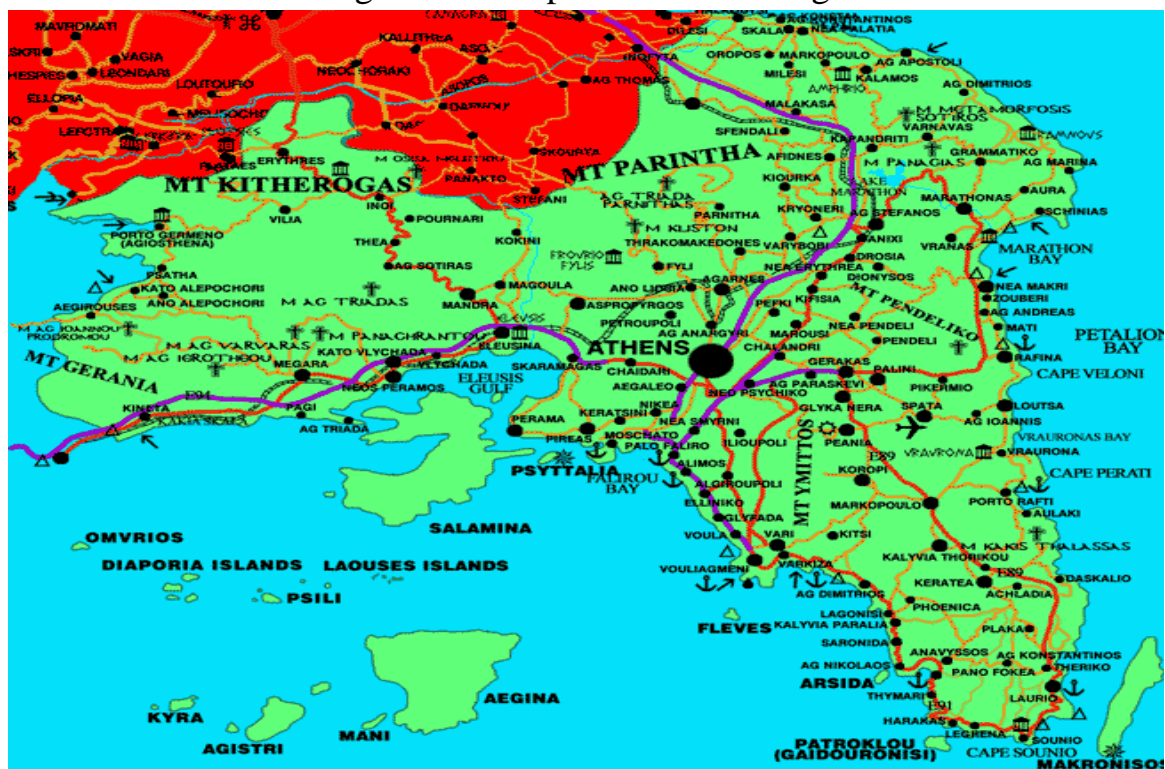
³³ As well as entertaining the first summer Olympic Games in 1896, Athens has traditionally been the political, administrative, cultural, business and transportation centre of Greece. Hence, it is no surprise that the city has attracted immigrants from other areas of Greece and more recently from abroad. According to data from the National Statistical Service of Greece, the population of the urban area of Athens (412 km²) rose from 1.37 and 3.04 million in 1951 and 1981 respectively to 3.17 million in 2001. Also, the population of Attica (3808 km²) in 2001 was 3,761,810 inhabitants representing 34% of the country’s total population.

Figure 3.6: Map of Greece and Administrative Regions is in 2009



Source: Ministry of Interior (www.ypes.gr)

Figure 3.7: Map of the Attica Region



Source: (www.in2greece.com)

Evolution of Tourism Development and the Unsatisfactory Post-Olympic Performance

The evolution of tourism development in Athens relates to institutional transformations in economic development and urban planning. Although the wider area of Athens has always been the country's most developed region (Christofakis, 2004; OECD, 2004), the trajectory of its post-war urbanisation was induced by spontaneous and boosterist practices, especially in the absence of competent sub-national authorities (Andreou, 2006; Chondroleou *et al.*, 2005; Leontidou, 1990; 1991). During a period of political turmoil between the end of the civil war of 1946-1949 and the military junta of 1967-1974, doubts overshadowed the capacity of post-war state apparatus to regulate and coordinate regional-local growth, encourage innovative thinking and inter-sectoral associations, and cultivate a culture of transparency and accountability (Magone, 2003; Sapelli, 1995). The capital city exemplifies the idea that the Greek economy moved from "*agriculture directly to services, neglecting industrialisation*" (Gianiris, 1988; cited in Sapelli, 1995: 98), in a situation where retail trade, tourism, and banks rapidly overcame the contribution of manufacturing sector to economy in Attica and Athens (Christofakis, 2004; Maloutas, 2003; OECD, 2004).

In the absence of a post-war strategic vision, Maloutas (2003) observes that fast and uncontrolled urban growth provoked congestion and acute environmental issues. The same rationale applied in respect to the concentration of hotels within the congested city centre and along the waterfront of Athens (Apostolopoulos and Sonmez, 2001; Leontidou, 1990; 1991; 1993). Hence, whereas Athens was both the country's major gateway and tourism destination in the early years of tourism development in Greece, the tourism

sector gradually became victim of deterioration in the capital city's natural and built environment, facing the first serious signs of decline in the 1980s (Asprogerakas, 2007; Leontidou, 1991; 1997)³⁴.

In recent years, debates for the restructuring of tourism development in Athens coincided with controversy over institutional reforms under the influence of Europeanisation. Due to the staging of the Olympic Games of 2004, issues such as the key role of national governments in policy decision-making and the lack of a culture of partnerships also have an effect on the relation between tourism development and expectations for the modernization of regional and urban planning. As Box 3.2 outlines existing literature on these interrelated themes, the idea for a study of tourism governance is justified while considering the unsatisfactory post-Olympic performance of urban tourism in Athens. Notwithstanding slight improvements in the performance of hotels and cultural sites from 2004 onwards, reflected on statistics presented in Appendix D, Athens has struggled to replicate the legacy of post-Olympic Barcelona in terms of recording a radical increase of hotel overnights (AAHA and JBR Hellas Horwath, 2005; Duran, 2005) and maximizing the spatial and functional integration of contemporary venues and attractions (Asprogerakas, 2007; Beriatos and Gospodini, 2004). As such, it is believed that Athens has not been able to considerably improve its competitive position among major North and South European city destinations (AAHA and JBR Hellas Horwath, 2005; Asprogerakas, 2007).

³⁴ The TTI (2005: 9) provides a brief summary of challenges during that period when it is noted that:

“Athens in the mid 1980s was suffering from an image problem. The city (...) was constantly enveloped in smog and its traffic congestion had forced city officials to limit the number of vehicles permitted in the downtown area. The Parthenon, eroded by industrial emissions and acid rain, was permanently covered by scaffolding as officials struggled to save its crumbling facade. For most tourists, Athens became little more than a stopover en route to other regions of Greece”.

Box 3.2: Interrelated Themes of Tourism Governance in Athens

Europeanisation and the Output of Institutional Restructuring

Controversial institutional restructuring towards a shift from government to governance in the Greek political culture has been stimulated by the process of Europeanisation (Andreou, 2006; Andrikopoulou and Kafkalas, 2004; Getimis and Grigoriadou, 2004; Petrakos and Psycharis, 2006). From a policy viewpoint, five-year plans of economic development began to adopt a regional orientation of economic goals, especially after the accession of Greece in the 'European Community' in 1981. Attica was eligible for funding throughout the inflow of structural funds via the 'Integrated Mediterranean Programmes 1986-1989' and three 'Community Support Frameworks' (1989-1993, 1994-1999, and 2000-2006). Andrikopoulou and Kafkalas (2004: 38) interpret this decision as a lasting reflection of *"the concern of Greek authorities to cope with national budgetary problems and to achieve national growth targets rather than to confront the extant regional disparities"*. For other scholars (Coccosis *et al.*, 2003; Rees and Paraskevopoulos, 2006; Psycharis, 2004; Serrao *et al.*, 2005), the principal issue in relation to the utilisation of structural funds is the lack of long-term strategic planning that would guide the mid-term character of operational programmes and rationalise the allocation of funds on the improvement of public infrastructure and the strengthening of competitiveness. In Plaskovitis' (2008: 160) words: *"In many programmes, lengthy lists of measures with overlapping objectives are placed under thematic sub-programmes carrying imaginative titles, but without clear-cut criteria as to whether they really contribute in the most effective way to achieving the stated priorities"*.

Europeanisation forced national governments to introduce reforms towards devolution, public-private partnerships, and policy-making consultations with social actors. Since the mid 1990s sub-national administrations have undergone major transformations such as the belated operation of 13 decentralised regions, the creation of 54 prefectures and 3 supra-prefectures as a second tier of local government, and the radical reconstruction of the first tier of local government (Chondroleou *et al.*, 2005; Magone, 2003; Petrakos and Psycharis, 2006). Important characteristics of this crowded and fragmented configuration are the financial and administrative challenges impeding the full assumption of enacted responsibilities by prefectures and municipalities. In tandem with the lack of strategic powers and frequent overlaps in regulatory powers, local authorities hold only a secondary role to ministries and regions in decision-making for the allocation of structural funds (Andreou, 2006; Newman, 2000). They also come short of innovative efforts to undertake an entrepreneurial role and mobilize social actors in the development of partnerships and dialogue forums. To a certain extent, this occurs because: *"Greece has a weak civil society, with low citizen involvement and limited awareness by the public of their rights and obligations"*. (...) *The lack of social capital, such as trust, norms and networks, is a further feature of the system"* (Rees and Paraskevopoulos, 2006: 197).

Even the participation of some corporate interests in regional and prefectural councils is not perceived as part of deliberate and systematic processes towards the creation of strategic agendas (Andreou, 2006; Getimis and Hlepas, 2005). More substantively for the role of local governments, however, they struggle to acquire learning skills for institutional adaptation, collective governance, and visionary leadership. Instead, they consent to the traditional model of administrative centralisation in influential decision-making and the slow progress of governance reforms while also expanding the vertical and horizontal webs of clientelistic relations between party elites and their affiliations (Andrikopoulou and Kafkalas, 2004; Chondroleou *et al.*, 2005; Getimis and Grigoriadou, 2004; Magone, 2003; Petrakos and Psycharis, 2006). For Getimis and Hlepas (2005: 66), the intensity of these phenomena in Attica undermines initiatives towards *"the creation of a metropolitan political identity among the citizenry"* and strategic planning at the region's level. Indeed, OECD (2004: 66) comments that the operation of more than 369 public agencies in Attica *"presents enormous challenges to deliver effective and efficient government and weakens institutional capacity to develop long-term coherent strategies"*.

Challenges in Urban and Regional Planning

Governance challenges and incoherence in institutional building have impinged on the quality of planning in Athens and Attica. Since the 1980s the slower pace of population growth along with the influence of EU directives and sustainable development debates have enabled improvements in the provision of public services and infrastructure. Modern perceptions of environmental and social issues led the state to realize that any effort to resolve local issues would not be feasible without due consideration to regional planning. In 1985, the government of PASOK enacted the 'Athens Master Regulatory Plan' (AMRP) in an attempt to specify policy targets and measures, and guide the organisation and development of Attica (Gerardi, 2007). Nowadays, the AMRP is still regarded both as the vehicle towards environmental protection and modernization, before and after the city's designation as the host of the Olympic Games (Economou, 2000; Gerardi, 2007), and a cause of planning failure due to its gradual obsolescence and *"lack of efficient implementation of planning legislation"* (Svkianaki and Palla: 2004: 6: cf. OECD, 2004)

Interestingly, questions of coordination arise from an institutional point of view. As a subsidiary of the 'Ministry for the Environment, Physical Planning, and Public Works', the 'Organisation of Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens' (OPEPA) is responsible for implementing the ASP and working with ministries, the 'Region of Attica', and local governments. While prefectures and municipalities occupy themselves with the delivery of licensing powers and the preparation of local regulatory plans, they play merely an advisory role in the preparation of the AMRP. Ministries and the 'Region of Attica' hold the lion's share of major planning decisions and infrastructure projects (Economou, 2007; Gianakourou, 2008; Serrao *et al.*, 2005). For Getimis and Hlepas (2005), prospects of democratically legitimate, efficient and effective governance in Attica revolve around the establishment of a metropolitan administration. Other authors, however, blame piecemeal perceptions of sustainability and the problematic nature of centralized top-down planning of limited strategic partnerships in Attica and Greece.

Because of organisational deficiencies and overlapping powers, failures or delays in regional planning and the management of structural funds are imputed to poor vertical and horizontal coordination (Coccosis *et al.*, 2003; Maloutas, 2003; Serrao *et al.*, 2005). It is suggested that preparations for the Olympic Games were primarily the task of ministerial departments. The OPEPA played a lethargic role in the absence of adequate personnel, management tools and monitoring mechanisms, and did not enable the involvement of local governments in decision-making (Chorianopoulos *et al.*, 2010; Economou, 2000; Tsetsis, 2005; Zifou *et al.*, 2007). This observation coincides with the belief of Sykianaki and Palla (2004: 6) that regional planning suffers from "*the cluttered and fragmented territorial and sectoral responsibilities that create enormous difficulties in the realization of strategic projects*", especially when "*policy and aspiration is generally in advance of implementation in Athens*". The upgrade of urban infrastructure before 2004 is seen as a crucial point in the evolution of tourism development in Athens, but it is important to investigate whether this evolution has encountered similar challenges to urban planning.

Tourism Development in Athens

An opportunity to redefine its appeal and dispose of the label of an "*incomplete capital city*" (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000: 212) emerged when Athens was designated to host the 2004 Olympics. Until then, Athens experienced a prolonged period of low trends in hotel overnights and occupancies in contrast to the steady growth recorded in insular resorts (Buhalis, 2001; ICAP, 2005; Leontidou, 1998; Papanikos, 1999; OECD, 2004). The TTI (2005) associates this decline with disappointment caused by the unsuccessful candidacy for the Olympic Games of 1996. Alternatively, Apostolopoulos and Sonmez (2001: 86) could attribute this decline to the long-term growth of tourism throughout the country on the basis of a "*spasmodic developmental process*" without a comprehensive strategy. In any case, the late idea of re-boosting tourism in Athens is consistent with the rhetoric of alternative tourism as a supplement to the seasonality of summer resorts. Additionally, it can further extend the sector's multifaceted contribution to national economy¹ (Buhalis, 2001; ICAP, 2005; MINTD, 2006a; Papanikos, 2001; Patsouratis, 2002; Research Institute for Tourism, 2006). Not surprisingly, thus, there is consensus on the positive influence of urban interventions before the Olympics to the image of Athens as a rising city-break destination and centre for niche markets (Christofakis, 2004; Coccosis *et al.*, 2003; Kuhnhehn and Kogler, 2006; OECD, 2004; TTI, 2005). This consensus is reflected in the policy philosophy of the fifth programming period of European funds. While complying with the guidelines of the renewed Lisbon strategy the 'National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013' (NSRF) views tourism as a key sector towards cohesion and sustainable growth through the strengthening of competitiveness and entrepreneurship (Commission of the European Communities, 2005; 2007a; MINECO, 2006b; 2007b). This rationale also applies in the following development objective:

"To strengthen the international role of the Attica Region as a European development pole in South-Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean area, improve the overall performance of the city and of the overall Region, and increase its attractiveness as a location for the establishment of businesses" (MINECO, 2006 b: 79).

While considering, however, the unsatisfactory post-Olympic tourism statistics, what remains under question is to what extent the Pro-Olympic refurbishment of hotels and recreation areas along with the upgrade of public infrastructure were part of a comprehensive plan on how to reap long-term benefits from tourism in Athens.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter considered potential advances in the field of tourism policy and planning from the operationalization of the SRA to the governance of tourism development in Athens. Under the influence of the paradigm of NI, institutionalist work and the structure-agency debate in the particular research area were revisited. This chapter argued for the utility of a relational-evolutionary perspective on political phenomena of tourism while investigating the quality of socio-political order and the context-specific, yet dynamic features of institutional arrangements and configurations. It was also concluded that unravelling the complexity of tourism policy and planning requires an amalgamation of political science themes.

In more detail, this chapter explored the ways in which the dialectic of structure and agency along with the concepts of path-dependence and path-shaping shed light on the inter-subjective nature of institutions, and set the foundations for explanatory and theory-informed accounts of tourism politics. For the current study, a relational-evolutionary perspective is regarded as an essential tool for dealing with the interdependent, multi-scalar and dynamically contingent nature of political processes. Since the various elements and scales of tourism politics tend to associate with each other, system thinking guides the investigation of tourism policy and planning practices alongside the stimulus and obstacles of change. The relational-evolutionary addition at the core of system thinking, however, ensues from the central position of perceptions over the character and transformations of socio-political contexts. Indeed, it is through the iterative interplay of ideational and material factors that the dialectic of structure and agency scrutinizes the

historical legacies of institutions, enriches understanding of their spatio-temporal specificity and contextual embeddedness, and contemplates the course of future developments. Accordingly, the conceptual framework of the SRA enables the integration of data on the mix of formal and informal expressions of structural conditions in the tourism policy arena with information about the recursive efforts of individuals and groups to exploit opportunities and overcome constraints.

Additionally, the relational-evolutionary perspective underpins progressive conceptions of power and policy networks in the current study. First, the exclusion/inclusion of claims from/in the tourism policy arena is not merely assessed on the possession of resources. Rather, power and its context-shaping effects are conceived through the perceptions, motives, and tactics nurturing or putting off the mobilization of resources. Attention is precisely drawn to the efforts of actors to comprehend and interpret the structural preferences of the contexts in which they reside, and proceed in a manner that allows them to accommodate their interests. This conception encourages a non-conformist view on the preservation of power by certain actors as well as a re-consideration of the scope and degrees of empowerment. Second, dialectical thinking underpins the exploration of activities embedded in policy networks, whose development and operation at a meso level underlie notions of political coordination and whose constitution and evolution are susceptible to both endogenous and exogenous (to networking) factors. From a governance point of view, the SRA also enables a systematic examination of the evolutionary coupling of institutional arrangements and modes of coordination, including policy networks, and leads researchers to draw conclusions about the quality of socio-political order across the state and society.

Finally, this chapter discussed particularities of urban tourism in a Southern European, tourist-historic and capital city. Not only does the governance of tourism development in cities illustrate the complexity of tourism policy and planning. More importantly, its study in the particular typology requires an intellectual reflection on contextual features such as the key role of national governments in policy decision-making and the lack of a culture of strategic planning and partnerships. As this inquiry examines how these features have influenced the evolution and quality of tourism governance in Athens, the philosophical foundations of the conceptual framework of the SRA inform the study's research design in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the methodology for this study which involves the conduct of qualitative research into issues concerning the governance of tourism development in Athens. The chapter engages with debates over the status and merit of qualitative methodology in tourism research. Through a ‘Strategic-Relational Approach’ (SRA) to tourism governance, the conceptually intimate interplay of ideational and material factors renders a qualitative methodology suitable for investigating the influence of perceptions and values in processes of socio-political struggle and change. A series of epistemological issues such as the purpose of the SRA as a theory among inquiry paradigms and the role of the reflexive researcher are also addressed, and their consequences are weighed up in relation to tourism policy and planning before an overview of empirical issues.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section considers methodological advances in tourism research while discussing the anachronistic nature of value-free studies of tourism policy and planning. A response to this debate is framed around Hay’s (2002:205-215) dialectical account of the material-ideational relationship, which constitutes a corollary of the dialectical conception of the structure-agency debate in the SRA and ties critical realism and constructivism together. A reflection of personal values and the way these have influenced the research process is also outlined in the first section. Moreover, the second section deals with research design. The justification for undertaking

a single case study is set out alongside a description of its geographical boundaries and sampling framework. Finally, the methods of data collection and analysis are examined and the quality of overall research design is assessed.

4.2 Qualitative Tourism Research and the Strategic-Relational Approach

Throughout the last thirty years, concerns regarding the suitability of qualitative methodology and the role of theory (Dann; 1999; Dann *et al.*, 1988; Finn *et al.*, 2000; Hall and Page, 2006; Hollinshead, 1996; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Riley and Love, 2000; Pearce, 1993; Walle, 1997) have been discussed in relation to tourism research (Ecthner and Jamal, 1997; Przeclawski, 1993; Tribe, 1997; 2004). The former theme has more recently come under extensive scrutiny in the field of tourism in light of contributions by Jennings (2001) and Phillimore with Goodson (2004). This section reflects on this literature in order to assess the contemporary state of tourism policy studies, and discusses philosophical implications of the current operationalisation of the SRA in this research area.

The Position and Treatment of Values and Ideas in Political Studies of Tourism

Since qualitative methodology has pervaded social sciences, scholars in various fields of tourism research started enhancing self-awareness of opportunities in the production of knowledge beyond the scientific efficacy of quantitative methodology. Walle (1997) argued that one reason behind the early reluctance of scholars to diversify their portfolio of research skills and methods was an intellectual preference for empirical verification

and observable precision due to the economic importance of tourism. The result of this reluctance has had controversial effects in the early stages of tourism research. Not only did the dominance of technically sophisticated statistical analysis at the expense of intuition and fuzzy thinking use to minimize the likelihood of subjective bias (Jennings, 2007). It was also responsible for impeding the holistic investigation of the dynamics of anthropological and cultural aspects as valuable sources of empirical evidence (Dann and Phillips, 2001; Walle, 1997). Given that the publication of the first tourism journal dates back to the early 1970s, it is not uncommon for tourism studies to lag behind other branches of social sciences in terms of innovation in inductive analysis and research approaches aimed at capturing the essence and effects of meanings and ideas (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Riley and Love, 2000).

During the last two decades, the tourism policy and planning inquiry has experienced a similarly slow but steady adoption of new methodological trends. Hall (1994) was the first to criticize at length the tendency of scholars to disregard the political and socio-cultural dimensions of tourism and avoid engaging in a systematic integration of the values embedded in specific contexts as well as their own. Hall (along with Jenkins, 1995: 34) also dedicated a whole chapter in explaining why it *“is simply unrealistic if one is seeking to understand how the (tourism) policy process operates and what the outcomes and impacts of the process represent to the people who are affected by government decisions”* without due consideration of individual and organisational values. Rather than describing and assessing the range of available meanings and interpretations, researchers of tourism policy and planning used to adopt measurable and prescriptive models in an attempt to achieve ‘objectivity’. As discussed in Chapter Three, however, there has recently been increasing recognition of the overt and latent ways in which our ideas and assumptions

underpin the synthesis and operation of institutional arrangements within societies and contexts of tourism politics (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a; Treuren and Lane, 2003).

Not surprisingly, the tourism policy and planning inquiry shares common ground with debates in other fields over the intention of distinguishing or combining etic and emic epistemological positions³⁵ (Ayikoru, 2009; Jennings, 2001; Walle, 1997). For Bramwell (2004c), the latter can extend knowledge on the research area of tourism partnerships because they “*stress empathy with the actors being studied and their perspectives in order to gain a more complete understanding of their emotions, views, and interpretations*”. Consistent with this idea, a considerable number of authors have lately employed qualitative methodologies in political studies of tourism (*cf.* Bahaire and Elliot-White, 1999; Belsky, 2004; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Chambers and Airey, 2001; Church and Ravenscroft, 2007; Hardy and Beeton, 2001; Long, 2000; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2000; Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005; Reed, 2000; Roberts and Simpson, 2000; Stevenson *et al.*, 2008; Timothy, 1998; Tosun, 1998; Tyler and Dinan, 2001a; Yuksel *et al.*, 1999). The introduction of qualitative methodologies is also observed in the literatures of tourism business and policy networks as a means of transcending the static representation and aggregate analysis of etic epistemologies (Dredge, 2006a; 2006b; Scott *et al.*, 2008a; 2008b).

³⁵ According to Jennings (2001: 127-129), ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ are anthropological terms describing two distinct approaches to the researcher’s venture in data collection and analysis. The former presupposes the researcher’s subjective involvement in the identification and analysis of multiple realities, based on the different interpretations of social events by individuals and groups. On the contrary, the latter abides by the production of social knowledge through the eyes of an objective outside observer who aspires to measure and portray the aggregate impact of individual units in social settings.

Perhaps more important for political studies of tourism is the blend of methodological preferences with reflections on the role of theory. As part of their effort to construct a dialectical theorisation of the historical development of British agricultural policy, Marsh and Smith (2000; 2001) advocate the collection and analysis of qualitative data. This kind of data, they argue, can deliver new insights into policy network analysis provided that it is mixed with unambiguous theoretical frameworks. Beyond directly observable relations and measurable properties informed by statistics, the result is an interpretation of pivotal conditions and mechanisms “*based on empirical observation and theoretical inference*” (Marsh and Smith, 2001: 532; *cf.* May, 2001).

Consistent with the principles of the paradigm of New Institutionalism (NI), this interpretation takes into account the influence of values and ideas in the social construction and contextual embeddedness of institutional arrangements and political processes. Crucially, its conclusions are rooted in the theorisation of causal and contingent relationships within contexts of complex realities, reflexive agents, and fluidity. Not only does this conception of the interaction between the methodology responsible for the production of research findings and theory transcend the old dichotomy of verification-falsification (Dann *et al.*, 1988; Eyles, 1988; Long, 2007; May, 2001), it also corroborates that dialectical thinking involves “*a holistic approach to the analysis of social systems*” (Hall, 2000a: 99). The recursive interplay of structure and agency is understood to occur under the influence of facts and ideas and extend the plurality of conceptual pairs with equally dynamic and exposed linkages between space and time, parts and wholes, causes and effects (Hall, 1994; 2000a; Harvey, 1995). In contexts of tourism governance, this may be an indication of the decisive but not inescapable influence of material and ideational factors on tourism policy and planning.

With respect to ideational factors, Marsh and Smith (2001) frame their argument around a critical realist perspective on social phenomena, which highlights the subtle role of theory in the analysis of empirical evidence. The task is to dig into the essence of deep structural conditions, while critical realism grapples with causal explanations of context-specific and contingent processes (Jessop, 2005). Hence, the analysis of behaviours and structural conditions does not involve only actual events. Critical realism also takes into account how socio-political phenomena are mediated through the actors' empirical observations and preferences (Bathelt and Gluckler, 2003; Dixon and Dogan, 2002). Interestingly, Hay (2002) traces the ontological and epistemological roots of the dialectical theorisation of the SRA in a 'critical realist-thin constructivist' position of the material-ideational debate. Hence, I deem important to touch upon this issue for three reasons. Firstly, I want to argue that existing knowledge in tourism research about the philosophical propositions of inquiry paradigms has sufficient weight to explore common ground between critical realism and constructivism. Secondly, I want to explain how the SRA can add interpretive power in political narratives of tourism (Dann *et al.*, 1988; Dann and Phillips, 2001; Hall, 2000a; Hall and Jenkins, 2004) through its particular viewpoint on the role of ideas in the construction of social contexts. Thirdly, the above points will help me justify the employment of a qualitative methodology for the current study on the basis of epistemological considerations about the SRA.

Inquiry Paradigms in Tourism Research

Nowadays, tourism researchers owe much of their knowledge about qualitative methodologies to authors who have recently discussed the status and evolution of tourism studies vis-à-vis the propositions of different inquiry paradigms (Ayikoru, 2009; Botterill,

2001; Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Hollinshead, 2004a; 2004b; Jennings, 2001; 2007; Long, 2007; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Riley and Love, 2000)³⁶. Keeping in mind that an inquiry paradigm can be defined as “*the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques shared by the members of a given community of inquirers*” (Ayikoru, 2009: 65; after Kuhn, 1970), this debate has key implications. It stimulates tourism researchers to discover and defend the ways in which they perceive the nature of reality (ontology), engage in an objective or subjective analysis of social world (epistemology), decide on the most appropriate means of conducting research (methodology), and face the values-ethics involved in the conduct of research (axiology).

Evidence from the field of tourism research suggests the prevalence of positivist and post-positivist perspectives alongside the gradual expansion of interpretive inquiry paradigms such as critical theory and constructivism. Quite crudely, this is the conclusion reached by Phillimore and Goodson (2004) of a review of tourism journals where they reflect on the growing legitimacy and appeal of qualitative methodologies. At the same time, these authors criticise the fact that in tourism “*many researchers are still operating within the boundaries of a limited range of epistemological, ontological and methodological frameworks*” (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004: 37).

³⁶ Tourism scholars owe to a great extent their inspiration to the work of Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; 2005; Guba and Lincoln, 1998; 2005; Lincoln and Denzin, 1998

The Position of Critical Realism among Inquiry Paradigms

Interestingly, the perceived narrowness of approaches in tourism research coincides with controversy surrounding claims about the philosophical positioning of critical realism. In 1998, Denzin and Lincoln saw critical realism merely as the ontology of post-positivism in which the closest possible apprehension of reality depends on the critical examination of the various interpretations associated with it. This belief shared some common ground with the earlier conviction of Firestone (1990) that post-positivism has similarities with constructivism at an operational level, albeit they both start from fundamentally opposite ontological positions and assume different degrees of interference on behalf of the observed and the observer. Nevertheless, this belief left critical realism exposed in terms of intellectual depth and autonomy, and led to the assumption that “*constructivism and critical theory are the only alternatives to positivism*” (Gale and Botterill, 2005: 153; cf. the conflation of positivism and post-positivism made by Hollinshead, 2004a). More recently, Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 13) have hesitantly recognized the emergence of critical realism as a separate social scientist movement without, however, expressing optimism about the paradigm’s prospect of overcoming a reluctant stance on discovering and tackling major social issues.

These discouraging assessments of critical realism have been recently challenged in tourism literature (Botterill, 2001; 2007; Downward, 2005; Gale and Botterill, 2005; Jennings, 2007). Along with other social scientists (Delanty, 1997; Jessop, 2005; Marsh and Smith, 2001), these scholars defend the blending of anti-positivistic and interpretive elements in critical realism. According to this school of thought, social phenomena do not

occur independently of the knowledge embedded in specific contexts and cannot be observed from a disciplinary distance in order to allow for impartial predictions and positivistic generalisations of a statistical nature. Nor are they reducible to the ontological summation and epistemic interpretation of individual perceptions (Boterill, 2007).

Lying between empirically realist and discursively relativist social science, critical realism makes sense of an “*objectively existing social reality*” (Delanty, 1997: 112). This reality is cultivated by deep structural conditions and underlying processes whereby observable and non-observable events occur and interactions emerge between the various elements of society (Gale and Botterill, 2005; Jennings, 2007). As it is illustrated in Box 4.1, critical realism represents a “*stratified ontology*” (Archer *et al.*, 1998: 12) “*whereby the world is structured and in which relationships between its constituent features are causal in bringing about outcomes*” (Downward, 2005: 311). Accordingly, social world is seen as an open system inhabited by structures and actors along with their numerous and contingent interactions that extend from the levels of experiences (empirical) and events (actual) to the level of generative structures and causal powers (real). While the activation or not of pivotal mechanisms at the real level does not guarantee their perpetual recurrence and generates “*circumstantial rather than deterministic*” forces (Botterill, 2007: 122), the task of critical realist social science is to investigate their organic and contingent relation to socio-political events and experiences (Downward, 2005; Hay, 1995; Jessop, 2005)³⁷. What renders, however, the knowledge of social phenomena true but fallible in this ontology is the spatially and historically changing constitution of social contexts (Jennings, 2007; Jessop, 2008a).

³⁷ Accordingly, the concept of cause in critical realism “*is not linked to the succession of events but rather an evolutionary or transformational concept of emergence in which agency and institutions combine to bring about effects*” within contingent conditions (Downward, 2005: 312)

Box 4.1: The Real, the Actual, and the Empirical in Critical Realist Ontology

- Real: generative structures or causal mechanisms
- Actual: events resulting from various real tendencies and counter-tendencies in specific initial conditions
- Empirical: observations or measurement of actual events and, in some circumstances, underlying structures and mechanisms

Source: Jessop (2005: 41)

As an integral aspect of the complexity of social world, values and ideas among places have the proclivity to shape in different ways human behaviour, the outcomes of future interactions, and the evolution of structures and mechanisms at the real level. Though again not deterministic, their influence is important in epistemological and axiological terms to the hermeneutical dimension and potentially emancipatory role of critical realist research. It reveals the mediating role of ideational factors at the empirical level in which the researcher resides throughout the analysis of evidence within theoretical frameworks, the interpretation of events and processes at the actual and real levels, and the revision of transitive knowledge (Archer *et al.*, 1998; Downward, 2005; Boterill, 2007; Marsh and Smith, 2001).

Transitive knowledge in critical realism, though constantly contingent and fallible, “*is produced through a continuing process of confrontation between retroductive theoretical hypotheses about intransitive objects and evidential statements generated in and through transitive knowledge*” (Jessop, 2005: 43). Jessop clarifies that the mediating role of ideational factors, in terms of evidential statements uncovered during empirical investigation, does never fully capture the essence of phenomena at the actual and real levels. Nevertheless, ‘retroduction’ reflects the regular effort to revise and update

knowledge between the levels of critical realist ontology, with the assistance of theories and concepts, as a means of increasing understanding of deep ‘mechanisms’ and tackling possible inequalities (Bryman, 2004). Interpretations thus through ‘retroduction’ are theory dependent in the same way that a double hermeneutic entails the intervention of theory after the initial recording and exploration of the ‘lived experiences’ of actors in specific contexts (Toke and Marsh, 2003; cited in Bramwell and Meyer, 2007: 772). In this sense, Archer *et al.* (1998) note that the nature of critical realist research to delve into experiences renders qualitative methodology indispensable, though there is nothing to reject the possibility of a methodological pluralism including methods of measurement and experimentation.

At this point, it becomes clearer why Delanty (1997) believes that critical realism and constructivism have more to reconcile than what it is often perceived. The process of critical realist research acknowledges “*the social production of knowledge by means of knowledge*” (Delanty, 1997: 132; following Bhaskar, 1979). The role of a critical realist researcher is not necessarily to hide his values (and bias), but to undertake a reflexive journey equipped with theoretical armoury while trying to reach conclusions on intransitive objects and explain social phenomena. It remains to be seen whether there is fertile ground in the research area of tourism policy and planning to land further debates on this reconciliation. As well as recognizing the influence of values throughout the close interplay of tangible evidence and abstract concepts, critical realist epistemology may also facilitate the study of tourism policies and institutions from the micro- to the meso- and macro level of analysis (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; 2004; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a). This thesis goes one step towards this direction by framing the research of tourism governance in Athens around the conceptual framework of SRA.

The Philosophical Foundations of the Strategic-Relational Approach

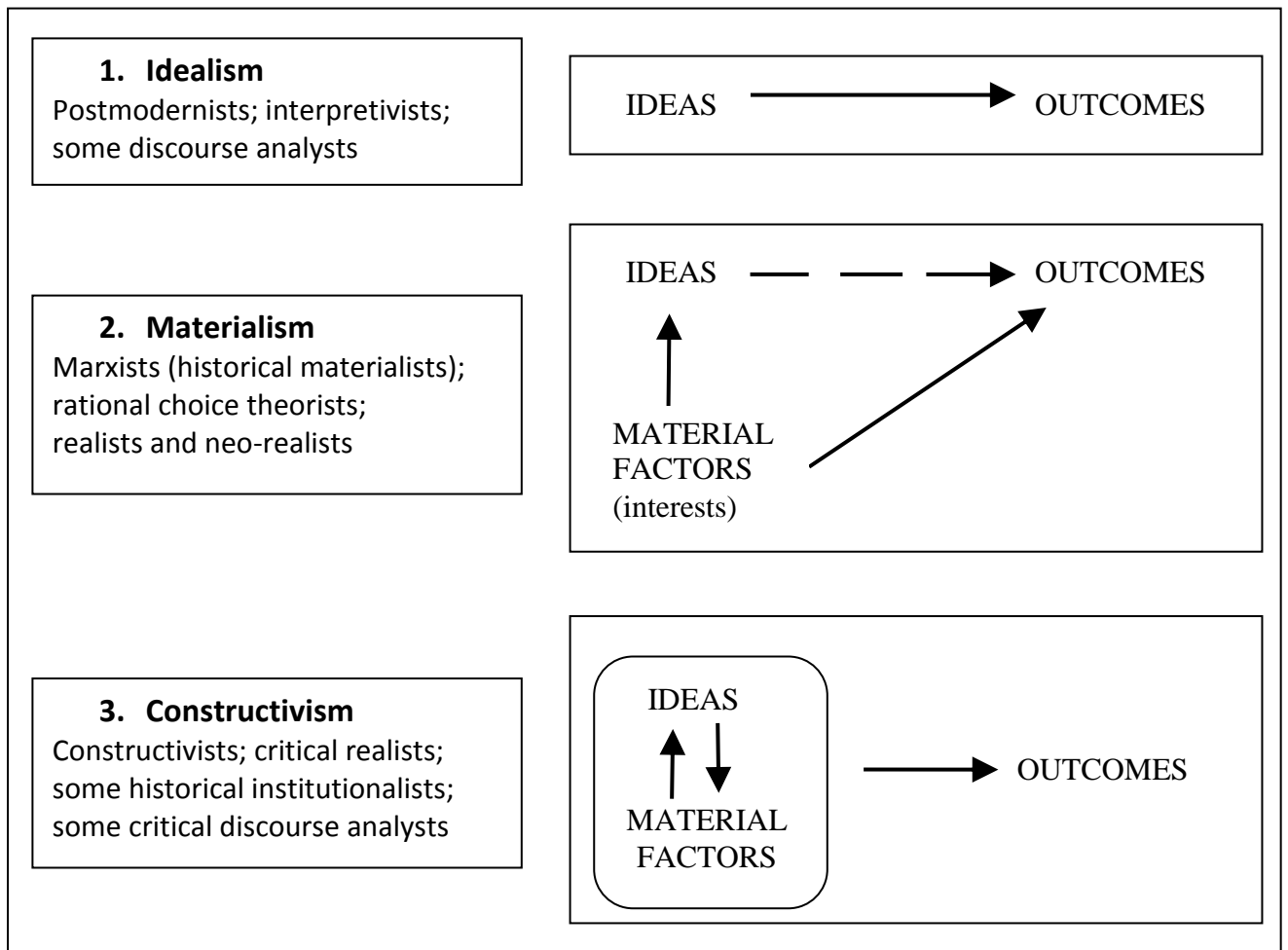
A promising effort to clarify the position of the SRA between critical realism and constructivism involves understanding the dynamics of ideational factors within the particular conceptual framework. That is part of Hay's (2002: 205) response to the dispute about "*whether ideas should be accorded a causal role independent of material factors or not*". As it is illustrated in Box 4.2 and Figure 4.1, this dispute has permeated through various analytical perspectives of political science. According to Hay (2002), it has also stimulated throughout the course of political analysis amendments and revisions of epistemological issues such as the role of theory along with the integrity and pervasiveness of knowledge claims on behalf of political scientists. Variations in perceptions of the relationship between ideational and material factors trace intellectual thinking from the sphere of social theory. Rather like inclinations to prioritize either structure or agency against dialectical conceptions, a similar diversity of perspectives revolves around the material-ideational dispute.

Box 4.2: Positions in the Material-Ideational Debate

Account	Prioritises ideational factors and constitutive logics	Prioritises material factors and causal logics
Simple view of material-ideational	Idealism	Materialism
Dialectical view of material-ideational	'Thick' constructivism	'Thin' constructivism; critical realism

Source: Hay (2002: 206)

Figure 4.1: The Role of Ideational Factors in Political Explanation



Source: Hay (2002: 206)

On the one hand, pure idealist and materialist perspectives advocate the existence of a single type of stimulus to “*the process of social and political causation*” (Hay, 2002: 205). Contemporary idealists, in particular, dismiss the essence of causal processes while considering the constitution of the social and political world as a simple output of meaning and discourse. For Bevir and Rhodes (2002), the task of interpretivists is to tell stories inspired by the intuitive and volitional influence of perceptions and interests. They conclude that “*narratives are to political studies what theories are to the natural sciences*” (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002: 134), despite the lack of an explicit causal pattern of explanation. As opposed to this conception, materialist analysis advocates the prevalence

of behavioural aspects in the constitution and explanation of social and political phenomena. As depicted respectively by the diagonal and dotted arrows in the second part of Figure 4.1, materialism is divided into a totalitarian and a more acquiescent version. According to Hay, material factors in the first version set aside in an assertive manner the purpose of the realm of ideas in socio-political constructions. Moreover, the esteem that ideational factors enjoy in the second version is not enough to grant them an independent causal role and leaves them again under the shadow of material facts and interests.

On the other hand, dialectical accounts of the material-ideational debate thrive in different versions of constructivism. Not only do such accounts capture the processes and relations that reflect the energetic expressions of human behaviour and dynamically shape space and time (Harvey, 1995), they also provide an alternative understanding of political outcomes. In specific and well-defined contexts, political phenomena do not exclusively reflect either the events that define the arenas of socio-political struggle or the values and desires surfacing from the range and sequence of the same events. In a similar fashion to the SRA, Hay uses the concept of strategy to view political outcomes through the lenses of an iterative interplay. In his words:

“{Political outcomes} are a product of the strategies actors devise as means to realise their intentions upon a context which favours certain strategies over others and does so irrespective of the intentions of the actors themselves” (2002: 208).

To consider the complex interaction of material and ideational factors a constituent feature of the relationship between structure and agency has implications for the nature and treatment of causation processes. Hay (2002) differentiates varieties of constructivism underlying the fundamental role of ideas besides the supplementary influence of material

factors (thick constructivism) from a thinner version organically embedded within critical realism. According to the latter, values and ideas hold a prominent position in the structure-agency debate. As well as being constrained by the ever-present material conditions, they shape and reproduce human behaviour and, thus, the very essence of society (Hay, 1995a; 2002)³⁸. Because of its proclivity to conceptualize change through the efforts of reflexive actors to understand and face the conditions and dilemmas embedded in social contexts, the SRA indicates the existence of common ground between critical realism and constructivism. In this sense, it can enable vivid discussions about the theorisation and analysis of tourism politics as well as about the employment of qualitative and/or quantitative methodologies in relevant studies. In light of this relational-evolutionary understanding, the role of a researcher is also susceptible to change.

Reflexivity and Dealing with the Self in Tourism Research

Along with concerns over the philosophical foundations of tourism research, scholars have explored the implications of epistemological subjectivism and methodological diversification. Consequently, the notion of reflexivity has permeated debates about the role and experience of tourism researchers. For Jennings (2005: 108), “*reflexivity is the process by which researchers reflect and consider the impacts of their personal subjectivity and consequences of their participation in the research process and report on the same in their writings*”. This definition is useful because reflexivity is understood as a

³⁸ Beck (1996; as cited in Delanty, 1997: 133) would agree with this interpretation, as he claims that only “*naïve constructivism fails to see that behind the constructions of social actors there are objective realities and naïve realism neglects the extent to which social actors and science constructs reality*”. In similar terms with Hay, Beck perceives a notion of ‘constructivist realism’ in which reflexivity underlies the constitution and reproduction of facts and meanings throughout the construction and interpretation of social reality by social actors.

tendency for constant reconsideration of personal assumptions and practices in the research process rather than as a sporadic condition or a symptom of eccentric self-indulgence. It places researchers and the changing underpinnings of their voices at the epicentre of knowledge production. Rejecting the image of an omnipotent preacher who delivers a sermon of objectively comprehended and undeniable truths, reflexivity mixes the intellectual and social background of each researcher with the identities, beliefs, and aspirations of the researched (Ayikoru, 2009). The result is an interactive and value-mediated process whereby interpretations of the multiple viewpoints that construct and reconstruct the contexts of tourism research surface (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Hollinshead, 2004a; Hall, 2004; Jennings, 2001).

This reflexive outline encapsulates the ways in which the values and perceptions of researchers guide substantial decision-making on the identification and dissemination of research findings (Bramwell, 2004; Hall, 1994; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007d). Although the critical realist investigators of tourism governance are supposed to use the perceptions of actors at the empirical level to comprehend events and mechanisms at the actual and real levels, there is nothing to guarantee beforehand that they will allow equal access to conflicting perspectives or eliminate personal bias during the presentation of conclusions and policy recommendations. One possible response to this challenge is that readers can draw conclusions on research interpretations when they are aware of the researcher's background and involvement. According to the focus of Hall (2000) on dialectical thinking, it can be said that the output of a study about tourism governance depends on the eagerness of a researcher to acknowledge his/her dynamic position in the entire research process. The same output is also vulnerable to criticism on the basis of different criteria by individuals and groups of actors. Thus, as "*part and*

parcel of the construction of knowledge” (Bryman, 2004: 500), the contemporary role of researchers requires facing themselves in a self-critical manner as well as making important decisions.

In this respect, I have to agree with Feighery (2006) that the methodology chapter seems like a safe space for personal disclosure besides responses to issues that determine the status and merit of the research process (Decrop, 2004). As references to methodological and ethical issues are made throughout the presentation of research design in the subsequent section, I reflect in Box 4.3 on how the selection of the research topic and the evolution of the entire research have been filtered by moments and idiosyncrasies of myself. In an effort to share personal experiences and uncover potential biases, I adopt the first person not only for the discussion in Box 4.3. Notwithstanding the criticism associated with the use of ‘I’ in academic writing, there are scholars who advocate it as an appropriate tool for critical reflections and narratives of dilemmas and decisions (Belsky, 2004; Hall, 2004; Long, 2007; Oliver, 2004; Ritchie *et al.* 2005). Hence, I choose the use of ‘I’ for the remaining of this thesis, wherever the report involves challenges I faced and steps I followed throughout the conduct of this study.

Box 4.3: A Personal Note on Research Experience

In tracing the origins of this thesis, I link the brief introduction to my educational background made in Chapter Two with the coincidence of the Olympic Games of 2004. It appears that the whole research endeavour emerged because the desire to express concerns of the future of Athens came across enthusiasm for the introduction to a world of unprecedented knowledge. Until the autumn of 2004, only once I had lived away from Athens for more than one month. The previous year I had spent it working in a travel agency in the city centre of Athens, preparing myself for the examinations of the state scholarship, and being cynical with people who decided to become volunteers for the Olympics. With respect to the latter, I was always upset with whoever preferred to ignore rumours for the extremely high (and well-hidden at that time) cost of the Olympics as well as to neglect the possibility of a lack of political accountability. At that time, a bit of cynicism was also boosted by growing discontent towards political parties, mainly because of the attitude of their youths residing in Greek universities. Under these circumstances, leaving Athens for doing a MSc in England under the auspices of a state scholarship felt like an opportunity for a great escape. Spending the whole of August 2004 mostly with family and friends, I never visited any of the Olympic venues and concentrated on preparing for the biggest challenge of my life until then.

High expectations were corroborated when I found myself into the incredible wealth of tourism literature posited in the library of the University of Surrey. Towards the end of a busy year, a PhD appeared to be the best route to take in order to maximize scholarship benefits and extend the enjoyment I had while doing my dissertation. Considering also the first discouraging news about the evolution of tourism traffic in Athens, some not very modest thoughts crossed my mind. Not only could I search for answers to my earlier concerns about the necessity of the Olympic Games, I could also be the first person to make international publications about tourism development in Athens. The erroneous thing was that I also thought I could do it in an easy manner. The idea was to replicate at a larger and more-appropriately developed scale in the case of my hometown what I had done during my dissertation with the development of sustainable tourism indicators in Crete. Among three universities to which I sent the proposal in August 2005, people in the University of Birmingham thought it was a good idea. However, one has only to read the title in the front-page to realise that the focus of this thesis has shifted to tourism governance.

My research experience coincides with the observation of Pansiri (2009) that maturity for a research student and his/her topic comes through interactions with supervisors and peers. Though supportive, my supervisors had always had second thoughts about the development of robust indicators in a country in which there were issues even with the production of simple statistics. Besides other personal struggles, mainly in terms of an unfulfilled love, I continued feeling as a personal duty the identification of some answers about the challenges of tourism development in Athens, especially when my brother had been working as a singer without a proper legal agreement for more than three years in one of the five star hotels that were subsidized by the state before the Olympics. Notwithstanding uneasiness about the gradual obsolescence of the initial topic, I managed especially through stimulating discussions made in panel meetings to link the broad literature on tourism collaboration with reading on institutional analysis and governance. During this learning process, I have come across the SRA and decided to frame my work in tourism governance around this particular heuristic perspective, using Athens as a case study.

4.3 Research Design

The second part of this chapter revolves around practical decisions and actions involved in the construction and implementation of the research design. Whilst there is an overall lack of information about the empirical application of the SRA in political science research, Kitagawa (2004) regards documents and interviews as sources of data that can guide the production of knowledge using the particular conceptual framework. This contention is consistent with the earlier reflection on the potential of emic approaches and qualitative methodologies to help students understand the influence of values and perceptions upon the practices and processes of tourism policy and planning. Alongside the personal ambition to proceed with an in-depth exploration of the politics of tourism development in Athens, the explicit focus of the SRA on the interdependence of material and ideational factors has informed the framework for the collection and analysis of empirical evidence (Bryman, 2004; Jennings, 2001; Pearce, 2004). Essentially, the use of a single case study based in Athens, a Southern European, tourist-historic and capital city, also conforms to the critical realist tendency of the SRA to interpret the path-dependent and contingently path-shaping interplay of structure with agency in specific contexts

Undertaking a Single Case Study

Although the case study methodology is well utilised among researchers of tourism policy and planning, as it permits a “*researcher to use intricate details and methods for examining policy arenas*” (Hall and Jenkins, 1995: 98), there is a long-standing argument between exponents of single- and multiple-case designs. Rhodes (1997) is emphatic in his

view that only the comparative case research strategy can equip historians and institutionalists with tools to bring description closer to analysis, and provide a supplement to work based on quantification and statistics. Tourism scholars share these concerns insofar as multiple-case designs are overtly regarded as appropriate for theory building and testing along with analytical generalisations upon a thoroughly defined issue (Bornhorst *et al.*, 2010; Selin and Chavez, 1994; Timur, 2003; Van den Berg *et al.*, 2003; Yin, 2003). It is also recognized, however, that researchers undertaking multiple-case designs might face challenges had they not been able to guarantee the availability of significant resources or acknowledge the boundaries and limitations of generalisations (Pizan, 1994; cited in Beeton, 2005; Xiao and Smith, 2006)³⁹.

Possible causes of the popularity of single-case designs can also be traced to epistemological and methodological developments in tourism research. As Goodson and Phillimore (2004: 36) point out “*the contextual position of knowledge is acknowledged through exploring how claims for knowledge relate to a particular temporal, geographical or social moment*”, they reinforce the belief that tourism policy and institutional expressions are deeply entrenched in specific contexts (Meethan, 1998; Milne and Ateljecic, 2001; Treuren and Lane, 2003). To examine the idiosyncrasies of a tourism governance context, researchers conducting single-case designs may seek to link thorough

³⁹ Such challenges may provide insight into the advantage that single-case designs hold over multiple-case designs in urban tourism research, although the latter type has a notable number of proponents in the tourism policy and planning inquiry (Dredge, 2006a; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; 2004; Hollinshead, 2004b). In truth, there are a few comparative and synthesis studies of city destinations in Europe and the US in terms of political and managerial aspects (Andranovich *et al.*, 2001; Bramwell and Rawding, 1994; 1996; d’ Angella and Go, 2009; Gladstone and Fainsten, 2001; 2003; Jansen-Verbek and Lievois, 2002; Law, 1996b; Naipaul *et al.*, 2009; O’Neill, 1998; Timur, 2003; Van den Berg *et al.*, 1995; 2003). Yet, single-case designs thrive in a notable number of urban tourism books (Hoffmann *et al.*, 2003; Judd, 2003; Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Maitland and Ritchie, 2009; Smith, 2007a) along with individual studies (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Avery, 2007; Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Doorne, 1998; Glasson, 1994; Human, 1994; Long, 2000; Lutz and Ryan, 1997; Maitland, 2002; 2006; Meethan, 1997; Murayama, 2004; Tyler, 1998).

descriptions of the past and present based on a qualitative methodology (Dredge, 2006a; Stevenson *et al.*, 2008). Along with the help of theory, single case studies can then come up with answers about the situational essence and effects of tourism politics, without losing the dynamic characteristics of each city destination (Beeton, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Tyler and Guerrier, 1998; Xiao and Smith, 2006). Possibly, the contextual character of such answers may inform references to a certain number of similar cases and, thus, compensate for the non-production of universal knowledge about a population of urban tourism settings (Pearce, 2001; Schofield, 2000; Stake, 2000). During this journey, researchers must also be aware of implications arising from their active involvement throughout the collection, analysis, and interpretation of research material (Beeton, 2005; Hollinshead, 2004b).

In this respect, there are different ways to classify the case study of tourism governance in Athens. In axiological terms, this case study has to a certain extent an intrinsic character as personal values and experiences inform research topic selection and empirical evidence interpretation (Stake, 2003). Meanwhile, there is also an in depth exploratory dimension (Yin, 2003), because the particular case study concentrates on the ‘who’ ‘what’ and ‘how’ of tourism policy and planning across policy areas and levels of administration. More importantly, the case study of Athens can be seen as ‘disciplined-configurative’ due to the explicit role of the SRA in the interpretation of empirical evidence (Eckstein, 2000). Eckstein (2000: 136) points out single-case designs of this nature have a lot to offer in political science when it is made clear how the meticulous examination and application of a “*valid theory compels a particular case interpretation and rules out others*”. Eckstein (2000) goes on to recognize, however, that this is a rare phenomenon because of political

scientists' reluctance to imperil the invalidation of a theory in the face of inept empirical evidence.

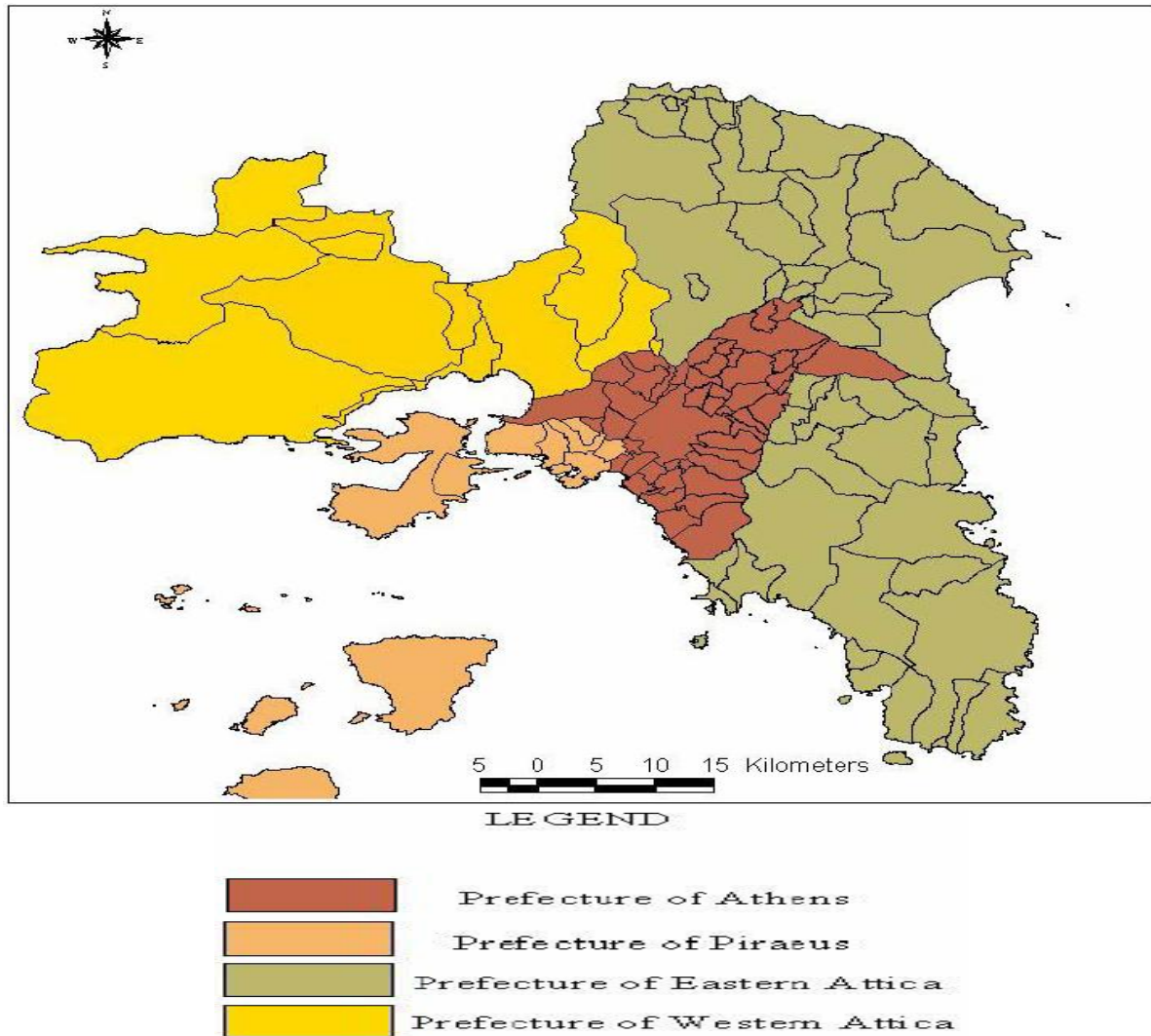
The last comment is critical because the purpose and type of an institutional turn in the tourism policy and planning inquiry, as discussed in Chapter Two, does not propagate the superiority of the SRA in institutional analysis or even of institutional analysis itself among theoretical accounts of tourism politics. The literature review discussed how the SRA backs the adoption of a dynamic perspective on tourism policy and planning, and provides alternative conceptions of power relations and policy networks. It is basically seen as a theory that can stimulate further debates of institutions among studies of tourism politics. In the absence of an extensive portfolio of institutional accounts within the research area in question, to define the case study of tourism governance in Athens as 'disciplined-configurative' entails an unambiguous intention (Eckstein, 2000). Rather than prioritizing the production of sophisticated generalizations even within cities like Athens, this case study focuses on the hermeneutic view of the SRA upon patterns of evolution in specific institutional conditions. Consistent with the observations of social scientists and tourism scholars (Denzin 1998; Kerr *et al.*, 2001; Stake, 2003; Xiao and Smith, 2006), I see the theoretical intervention of the SRA as an explanatory addition in the thick description of particularities, practices, and processes of tourism policy and planning in Athens. To what extent this endeavour will allow for basic generalisations and valid comparisons with governance systems in tourist-historic and capital cities in Southern Europe (Decrop, 2004; Schofield, 2000) depends on how research design guides decisions on several issues before, during, and after the collection of empirical evidence (Yin, 2003).

Case Study Area

A major decision in the construction of a single-case research design is to identify the defining element of a case study and set boundaries according to what will and what will not be studied (Beeton, 2005). In terms of geographical boundaries, thoughts on the feasibility and quality of primary research guided my effort to discover the regional dimension of urban tourism development in Athens and identify the anthropogenic characteristics of its constitution (Chang, 1998; Edwards *et al.*, 2008; Jafari, 2000). Among the four prefectures of the Attica Region illustrated in Figure 4.2, the prefectures of Athens and Piraeus were selected for this case study. That decision was based on the fact that these two prefectures incorporate the most important elements of tourism-related infrastructure in the whole region, and was consistent with the observations of a study for tourism development in Attica that was prepared by private consultants on behalf of ‘Greek National Tourism Organisation’ (GNTO, 2003). Apart from accommodation establishments⁴⁰, other indicative examples of tourism-related infrastructure include the majority of ancient and modern cultural sites, Olympic venues, marinas, facilities for exhibitions and conventions, commercial and nightlife clusters, and the country’s biggest port with berths for cruise ships along with additional attractions such as the waterfront of Athens and the islands of the Saronic Gulf.

⁴⁰ Although a notable number of hotels and rent apartments can be found in Eastern Attica, this prefecture has been the most popular place for the development of second houses in the region, and the residents of Athens spend over there a part of their summer holidays. Similarly, hotels in this area can mainly be compared with accommodation establishments that can be found in other coastal resorts of summer holidays in Greece. Eastern Attica has experienced prolonged growth during the last two decades because of the construction and operation of the new international airport of Athens in the area of Markopoulo. Tourists from Athens also spend some time in Eastern Attica to visit mostly the ancient temple of Poseidon in Sounio and less frequently the site of the battle of Marathon between Athenians and Persians in 490BC.

Figure 4.2: Map of the Attica Region – Administrative Division 2007



Source: GNT0 (2003)

Sampling of Organizations

In terms of identifying what organizations were going to be studied, the study of GNT0 (2003) also informed purposive and snowball sampling according to the legacy of stakeholder theory in tourism research. As it is summarized in Box 4.4, the second part of that study provided guidelines for the involvement and cooperation of state and non-state actors in various policy areas, as a step towards sustainable tourism development in Attica, while recognizing the predominant role of ministries.

**Box 4.4: Groups of Actors and their Involvement
in Policy Areas for Tourism Development in Athens**

	Ministries	Public Sector Organisations	Regional Authorities	Local Authorities	Professional Associations	Companies	NGOs - Other Organisations
Tourism Development Auditing – Regulations for Land Uses	X		X				
Protection and Enhancement of Physical and Cultural Tourism Resources	X		X	X	X	X	X
Enhancement of Accommodation Facilities, Tourism Facilities and Services	X		X	X	X	X	X
Alternative forms of Tourism	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Improvement of Urban, Transport and Special Infrastructure	X	X	X	X		X	
Innovation – Research – New Technologies	X				X		
Tourism Promotion	X		X				
Human Resource Management	X		X				

Source: GNT0 (2003: 117)

Since the lengthy list of organizations in each of the groups of actors identified in Box 4.4 was impractical for the purpose and resources of a single research, I had to figure out not only what organisations were more pertinent to my study's aims and objectives (Bryman, 2004; Jennings, 2001). Approaches to stakeholder identification in tourism literature suggest purposive sampling needs to consider interests and roles, even when they remain marginalised, rather than assess each organisation's involvement merely according to its

functions (Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2000; Hall, 2000a; Sautter and Leisen, 1999; Timur, 2003a; Yuksel *et al.*, 1999). In May 2007, the initial identification of organizations⁴¹ covered an array of functions, scales, and themes in tourism policy and was representative of key actors mentioned in the study of GNT0 (2003). As it was exclusively based, however, on personal knowledge about a study that had been published four years ago, this identification was disconnected from the regular proceedings of tourism development in Athens.

In order to improve sampling inclusiveness, I had to elicit the viewpoints of selected organisations on their actual agendas and relations. Firstly, I used the study of GNT0 to prepare a list of organisations from four different groups of actors including central government agencies, regional-local governments, tourism-traders associations, and voluntary groups. Secondly, in June 2007 I sent this list through e-mail to four officials and policy makers in the MINTD and GNT0, two mayors and two directors of tourism-related department in regional-local governments, four directors and presidents of tourism associations, and two presidents of environmental organisations while informing them about the purpose of my research. In a form of snowball sampling, which “*is a useful means of identifying relevant stakeholders based on the view of other stakeholders*” (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002: 77), I asked these informants to highlight 5-6 organisations from each group, or even add other organisations, according to the following questions:

⁴¹ From the public sector, I included the ‘Ministry of Tourism Development’, the GNT0, the ‘Ministry of Economy and Finance’, the ‘Ministry of Culture’, the ‘Region of Attica’, the Prefectures and Municipalities of Athens and Piraeus, and two other municipal authorities along the waterfront for which I was aware of their conflicts with the central state both before and after 2004. From the private and voluntary sectors, four tourism associations were selected, one of which was from the islands of the Saronic Gulf, along with the traders associations of Athens and Piraeus and two environmental organisations.

- What organisations influence tourism development in Athens?
- What organisations have legitimate claims about tourism development in Athens?
- Can you think of any organisations with urgent requests about tourism development in Athens during this period (summer 2007)?

Although the rate of responses from the public sector was not encouraging, after one month I had received eight responses out of fourteen. Not only did these responses guide the selection of organizations for the first round of interviews, they also informed research design about relationships of power, legitimacy, and urgency (Currie *et al.*, 2009; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2000; Mitchell *et al.*, 1997; Timur, 2003a). The two former attributes embody the degree to which specific actors accomplish their objectives and their claims get good reception in society. Despite the possibility for a stakeholder “*to impose its will through coercion*” (Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2000: 276), this reading of power recognizes that what matters in socio-political contexts is the output of relational and contingent processes (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997). Furthermore, urgency is concerned with actor whose claims require immediate attention regardless, but not independently, of the power and legitimacy the same actors enjoy. Crucially, the selection of organisations was further informed during the fieldwork phases of data collection and preliminary analysis, and led to sampling enrichment for the second round of interviews.

The identification of organizations was not immune to limitations and changes. The institutional nature of analysis led me initially to eliminate individual companies like hotels and travel agencies in the same way I had not included museums and other cultural providers from the public sector (Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005). Nevertheless, snowball sampling demonstrated the important role of private consortiums when they get involved

in the management of state-owned property. While I included three of these companies in the final sample, I also added two companies of marketing consultants to get more information about their own partnerships with the public sector in tourism marketing.

Sampling of Interviewees

Challenges surrounded the identification of sixty-one interviewees, whose titles along with the names of respective organizations can be found in Appendix E. Gaining access to interviewees is a dimension rarely discussed in qualitative tourism research (Okumus *et al.*, 2007). In terms of an institutional analysis, the perspectives of interviewees must reflect to some extent the respective perspectives of their organizations (Sautter and Leissen, 1999). Tyler and Dinan (2001a) concluded during the conduct of elite interviews from the public sector and interest groups that government officials, policy makers, chief executive officers, and permanent secretaries comprise adequate informants for qualitative research on tourism politics. Interestingly, they also pointed out how the “*elite are notoriously difficult to access for research purposes*” because of time constraints (Holloway, 1997; cited in Tyler and Dinan, 2001a: 227).

Given the distance between Birmingham and Athens, in my effort to establish contacts with similar informants in Athens I did not expect any help from supervisors and academic fellows that could act as gatekeepers and facilitate my access to the research setting (Jennings, 2005; Okumus *et al.*, 2007). Remembering the poor number of e-mail responses from the public sector during snowball sampling, I decided to adopt a more formal communication approach by sending an introductory letter at the beginning of

September 2007 to elite informants from organizations included in the four groups of actors. In this letter, I provided a brief description of my research topic. Under the condition that I will provide them with feedback about research conclusions and recommendations when the thesis will be due for completion, I also expressed my desire to have a one-hour discussion with them in terms of confidentiality and anonymity (Long, 2007).

In practice, the introductory letter worked well with the private sector, voluntary groups, and three professors of urban planning and tourism marketing. Some informants gave me a telephone call or sent me e-mail reply even before my return to Athens in mid October 2007. Surprisingly, it also worked well with two politicians from the socialist party in opposition who were well known about their viewpoints on tourism development and urban planning in Athens. On the contrary, the 'climate' in the wider public sector before and after national elections in September 2007 was the main justification I was given during telephone contacts with policy makers for the fact they were totally unaware of my letter. The 'Ministry of Economy and Finance' along with the 'Olympic Properties S.A.' proved the most challenging cases in terms of securing participation from senior management. However, the majority of informants from the public sector were more cooperative. Not only did they agree to arrange a meeting for no more than one hour after asking me to send them another copy of the introductory letter through fax or e-mail, two of them were also kind enough to help me broaden my contacts and add more interviewees from the MINTD and GNTD through another version of snowball sampling (Jennings, 2001).

Data Collection and Analysis Methods

Data collection and preliminary analysis took place in two phases of fieldwork from October to December 2007 and from May to July 2008. The empirical evidence derived from documentary analysis and sixty-eight semi-structured interviews, of which fifty-seven were recorded and fully transcribed, with sixty-one interviewees⁴². In between the two phases of fieldwork, I returned to Birmingham where I had the opportunity to discuss with supervisors and colleagues the effectiveness of the tools I used and possible modifications⁴³. The following discussion provides more details on these issues including the main process of data analysis that continued after my final return to Birmingham in August 2008. Meanwhile, Appendix F includes translated samples of the tools I used along with translated versions of the introductory letter, the revised interview topic guide, and a full transcription of one interview.

Topic Guide of Semi-Structured Interviews

The interviews during both phases of fieldwork were semi-structured. Since the beginning of literature reading, I had observed how in-depth semi-structured interviews are highly esteemed in tourism collaboration research (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Bornhorst et al., 2010; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Church and Ravenscroft, 2007; Dredge, 2006b; Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002; Long, 1997; Medeiros de

⁴² There were seven informants with whom I had one discussion in each of the two rounds of interviews. These extra interviews were really productive as they gave me at that time up to date data on issues such as the transformation of the organization for tourism development under the 'Municipality of Athens' and plans for the management of European funds in Attica during the programming period 2007-2013.

⁴³ During the same period, I also had the opportunity to experiment myself with the Greek health system because of a heavy pneumonia that kept me in Athens throughout January 2008.

Araujo and Bramwell, 2000; 2002; Naipaul et al., 2009; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Stevenson et al., 2008; Yuksel et al., 1999; 2005). Apart from some structure they offer to inexperienced researchers, semi-structured interviews are flexible because probing and follow-up questions can be framed to elicit in-depth responses or even alter the sequence of main questions (Bryman, 2004; Fielding and Thomas, 2001; Jennings, 2001; Jordan and Gibson, 2004; May, 2001). According to the themes of tourism policy in which respondents have specialized knowledge, it can be explored the dynamic articulation of similar and different perspectives within one or more of groups of actors, within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus. The same principle applies while understanding whether the meanings and ‘truths’ that specific interviewees provide are more a reflection of personal perceptions and roles or express the values of the organisation they belong (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Dredge and Thomas, 2009; Hardy and Beeton, 2001; Naipaul et al., 2009). Hence, it is imperative for researchers not only to have a good grasp of the concepts and theories that they will use to interpret multiple viewpoints and divulge the social construction of knowledge at the empirical level of critical realist ontology. They also need to be fully aware of and communicative about the ways in which personal values and experiences influence the research endeavour before, during, and after data collection.

The conduct of semi-structured interviews sought viewpoints on themes that were guided by research objectives and the SRA. Before fieldwork, the development of research objectives as presented in Chapter One reflected extensive reading around the operationalisation of the SRA in the research area of tourism policy and planning along with my personal interest in tourism development in Athens. Simultaneously, an additional concern was how the interview topic guide would elicit adequate data to enable

a SRA to tourism governance in Athens. As it is summarized in Boxes 4.5 and 4.6, the output of these considerations was the identification of thematic categories, whose indicative themes had to correspond to a certain extent with research objectives in order to facilitate the topic guide's later construction⁴⁴.

Box 4.5: Interdependence of Thematic Categories and Research Objectives of a Strategic-Relational Approach to Tourism Governance in Athens

Actors of Tourism Development

- To identify tourism and other groups of actors, which impact on processes of tourism policy and planning.
- To understand what actors have the lion's share in initiatives for tourism development in Athens and what factors influence the capacities of other actors to get engaged actively with these processes.
- To scrutinize the roles of the administrative levels of the state and unravel all actors' perceptions about the contribution of public authorities to tourism development in Athens.
- To explore whether there is consensus among actors regarding the priorities and agendas of tourism development in Athens without, however, focusing exclusively on economic aspects.

The Policy-Institutional Context of Tourism Development

- To understand the nature of tourism development in Athens and the impact of relevant policies and institutions.
- To shed light on the nature of institutional arrangements and the impact they have on tourism policy and planning.

Issues of Collaboration and Networking

- To outline the networks of relationships among the groups of actors with an impact on tourism development.
- To investigate whether and how actors modify their strategies and alliances in order to improve anticipating results and how they assess their capacities to adapt.

Future of Tourism Development and Collaboration

- To scrutinize the opportunities and barriers for strengthening relationships among the groups of actors with an impact on the processes of tourism development in Athens.
- To discuss the existence of a vision regarding tourism development in Athens and the potential for strengthening collaboration.

⁴⁴ It has to be noted that the boxes presented here are merely a reflection of the final articulation of research objectives and identified themes, in the same way that the interview topic guide presented in Appendix D contains all revisions that occurred in between the two phases of fieldwork. Despite their tendency to be static rather than dynamic depictions of the research design's evolution, these boxes still provide essential information about the rationale and sequence of ideas behind the SRA to tourism governance in Athens.

**Box 4.6: Thematic Categories and Indicative Themes to Guide
a Strategic-Relational Approach to Tourism Governance in Athens**

Actors of Tourism Development

- Status/structure of organization and/or department (establishment – historical background – powers and objectives – funding – membership – staff – other organizations with similar jurisdictions).
- Processes of decision-making and intervention of the organization and/or department in tourism policy and planning.
- Key organizations and interest groups in terms of initiatives.
- Organizations and interest groups that could play a more active role.
- Factors that influence the capacities of different organization to intervene in tourism policy and planning.
- Outline and assessment of the public sector's role across levels of administration.

The Policy-Institutional Context of Tourism Development

- Characteristics and elements of tourism product in the wider area of Athens.
- Historical evolution of tourism development in Athens – Emphasis after 2004
- Perceptions about the tourism policy-institutional context and the effects of tourism policy and planning in Athens
- Changes in the tourism policy-institutional context in comparison to the past
- Processes and interrelationships of tourism policy and planning across policy areas and levels of administration.
- Nature and forms of institutional arrangements and assessment of their effects on tourism policy and planning.

Issues of Collaboration and Networking

- Forms of collaboration and networks of relationships across policy areas and levels of administration.
- Factors that shape the evolution of relationships and alliances.
- Perceptions about the position and activities of the organization/department within the tourism policy-institutional context in the face of networking.
- Perceptions of changes and strategic learning.

Future of Tourism Development and Collaboration

- Perceptions about the future of the tourism development and collaboration.
- Key opportunities and constraints.
- Suggestions.

According to personal experience, one reason why “*asking questions and getting answers is a much harder task than it may seem at first*” (Fontana and Frey, 1998: 47) is the preparation of a solid interview topic guide. My first draft topic guide comprised of around twenty questions. I was also naïve enough to believe that I would prepare a different topic guide with focused questions for each group of actors. The outcome of this first effort was unrealistic for research purposes and comparability would also have been impeded, since I was trying to integrate in interview questions every bit of the indicative themes identified in Box 4.6 and specialize it in the case of each interviewee and organisation.

What I underestimated at that time was the kind of a dynamic interaction that can ensue between an interviewer and interviewees, when broad (main) thematic questions are backed up with effective follow-up and well informative probing questions (Jordan and Gibson, 2004; Kvale, 1996; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). This does not imply that the researcher employs leading questions to elicit specific answers. Rather, I had to embrace as an integral research aspect the challenge that conducting interviews with informants from a portfolio of diverse organizations and policy areas would inevitably produce discussions with differing degrees of specialisation between questions and themes.

Under the guidance of my supervisors, the initial topic guide was transformed to a tight set of ten questions, which covered key aspects of thematic categories related to a SRA to tourism governance (see Boxes 4.5 and 4.6). These questions were tested in a pilot process during the first three interviews. The pilot test worked well, and the topic remained largely unchanged during the first phase of fieldwork. Opportunities to probe for thorough accounts of practices and perceptions surfaced when common probing

questions were combined with more specialized ones. Before each interview, interviewee-specific probes were informed by quick Internet browsing whereby a concise checklist of topics concerning tourism-related initiatives and relations of each organisation was derived from newspaper articles and respective websites. In several cases, policy makers and members of tourism associations were encouraged by the fact that I was aware of certain events and issues, and engaged in detailed accounts of experiences and perceptions. Moreover, amendments to the topic guide made before the second phase of fieldwork included not only the re-wording of two main and three probing questions, in a case in which issues of translation added to linguistic confusion due to the fact that all interviews were carried out in Greek. Crucially, it was also decided the total transformation of a question concerning the evolution of relationships between actors, as the initial question had elicited a few comments of ambiguity on behalf of a notable number of interviewees.

Conduct of Interviews and Preliminary Data Analysis

The conduct of interviews was similarly demanding in the face of new experiences and challenges. Several interviewees insisted they had no problem if I would be using the name of their organisation and their title next to specific quotes, even when they referred to politically sensitive issues. Eleven respondents refused, however, to provide permission for tape recording, despite assurances that no quotes would be attributed to particular individuals. In the latter case, I took detailed verbatim notes, which proved to be a difficult task, especially when four of these interviews lasted for more than one hour and one interviewee was so excited by the discussion that he opened a bottle of vodka

after the first twenty minutes. Among the fifty-seven interviews that were recorded with an MP3 recorder, accompanied by less rigorous note-taking, three interviewees from the public and two from the private sector asked me to send them later on a full transcription in order to verify the discussion's contents.

As part of the broad research experience, the locations of interviews were of a particular interest. Discussions with informants from government agencies more than once were held in large noisy rooms, where several people were working together. Later on it took me longer than the usual to transcribe some of these interviews because of the noise. Perhaps more importantly from an aesthetic point of view, I could not stop thinking at that time this kind of working environment was incompatible with rumours, pretty much established in Greek society, about the luxury that certain civil servants are supposed to enjoy. On the contrary, tape recording was a much easier task during discussions with the great majority of interviewees from all the other groups of actors, as these informants had their individual offices with ample space and peace. There was only one member of a tourism association with whom the interview in his company reminded me of the chaos I met in some central government agencies. As long as we were talking for fifty minutes, one of his employees was sitting right behind my back and swearing continuously at another person on the telephone. The particular interviewee never felt embarrassed, even though the recorder was working properly and there was an obvious (at least for me) violation of the conception of interview as "*a polite conversation, or exchange of ideas*" (Kvale, 1996: 125). What impressed me, however, was that the interviewee never lost his concentration, whereas I was struggling to keep my own.

The interviews lasted on average about fifty minutes. Several interviewees mainly from municipalities and tourism associations seemed to feel more comfortable after the beginning of each interview so, when necessary, they allowed me to continue asking questions for more than one hour and exhaust the topic guide's themes. At the same time, two discussions with policy makers lasted for less than forty minutes. Not only did these interviewees avoid answering certain questions, they also accused me of taking sides when I let them know that their viewpoints on the activities of their organisations were utterly different from the respective viewpoints of other groups of actors⁴⁵.

On a positive note, the conduct of interviews was less challenging during the second phase of fieldwork. As I had completed the biggest part of the laborious collection of documentary sources, I had more time to personally deliver some of the introductory letters as well as to prepare properly myself before each interview. Interviewees from central government agencies were also more easily available in comparison to the first round of interviews that took place after national elections in September 2007. Sadly, two policy makers who were willing to offer me the opportunity of a second interview had left their positions before May 2008. During the second phase of fieldwork, I also spent more time keeping some of the experiences described previously along with other thoughts in a journal I started writing after the completion of the first five interviews. My supervisors were keen for me to undertake this task as a reflexive recording of research experience. I imagine, however, that being totally unfamiliar earlier in my life with the process of writing down personal thoughts in a diary for more than one week explains why at the end of fieldwork this journal was full of Greek scribbles.

⁴⁵ In one of these two cases, I was clearly given the feeling I was not welcomed anymore. To compensate for this unfortunate incident, I enriched my knowledge about the perceptions of the particular informant through three interviews she had recently given to newspapers and were included in the organization's website.

As a matter of fact, filling in a 'Contact Summary Sheet' (CSS) dominated preliminary data analysis and preceded transcription. According to Miles and Huberman (1994: 51-52), "*a contact summary is a single sheet with some focusing or summarizing questions about a particular field contact. The field-worker reviews the written-up field notes and answers each question briefly to develop an overall summary of the main points in the contact*". The key point is that I had decided not to undertake any transcription during the fieldwork phases and put extra burden on myself. Hence, I saw filling in each CSS as a flexible and less time-consuming tool to summarize key themes, keep notes about the overall impression of an interview, and think of issues that I could discover during subsequent interviews and through documentary sources (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In the majority of cases, the completion of each CSS took place within the same or the next day of an interview. As the exceptions of the rule, there were few times when two or three interviews took place within one or two consecutive days. The completion of each CSS was delayed in these cases, but links were quickly made with a different colour between issues that struck me during new interviews and themes I had noted in previous CSS. In general, as well as helping me clarify the contents of verbatim notes taken during interviews, the directness of this process and the simplicity of the CSS contributed to linking the main points and aspects of each discussion with the thematic categories of the topic guide, often after a quick hearing of the MP3 recording. In this sense, the CCS was also a loyal friend during the main stage of data analysis.

Transcription of Interviews and Data Analysis

Although a significant number of transcriptions were completed in between the two phases of fieldwork, the bulk of this work took place right after the return to Birmingham at the end of July 2008. Undertaking full transcriptions of fifty-seven interviews felt like a test of personal commitment. For an average typist, the major challenge is not that a single transcription “*may take a lot longer than the suggested five to six hours per hour of speech*” (Bryman, 2004: 331). Kvale (1995: 85-86) classifies the stages of emotional dynamics involved in an interview study where the researcher goes through a transition from the initial state of enthusiasm and intensive engagement to increasing scepticism, postponements, stress, and feelings of resignation. As the work progressed, a similar transition resulted to the completion of transcriptions within less than forty-five days but left me exhausted in the face of an overwhelming amount of work. A deliberate decision to take a break for twenty days could potentially endanger the coherence of data analysis, as later tasks included the elaboration of a ‘Data Analysis Table’ (DAT) for each interview along with the enrichment of each DAT with thoughts and impressions of the interviewees’ nonverbal communication. Work undertaken, however, earlier on was at this point where it compensated for the lack of immediacy between the end of transcriptions and the main part of data analysis.

Indeed, the comments and observations incorporated in the CCS and reflexive journal complemented coding and led to the gradual ‘reduction’ of data, when I had placed pieces of verbatim transcription in the cells of each DAT. The initial development of each DAT was in line with instructions about the construction of conceptually cluster matrices,

in a case in which “*the analyst may have some a priori idea about items that derive from the same theory or relate to the same overarching theme*” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 127). In each DAT, the interview data was ordered and subjected to analysis according to the thematic categories and indicative themes presented earlier in Box 4.6, as they were informed by research aims and propositions in relation to a SRA to local economic development (Jessop and Hay, 1995). Through a similar structure, the systematic presentation of information for each interviewee did not prevent the identification of new themes along with their inclusion to the conceptual cells of the initial DAT. For instance, as the presentation of research findings in subsequent chapters explicates, perceptions of the nature and effects of affairs between major political parties in Greece was a theme that added an extra dimension to the institutional analysis of tourism policy and planning. More importantly, however, as analysis was driven by a common visual format, comparisons of quotations and codes between interviewees from the same or different groups of actors were facilitated. Comparative analysis was extended while incorporating thematic codes into four longer matrices, one for each group of actors, in which each row was representing an interviewee and each column an indicative theme (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Not only were these longer matrices arranged to bring together empirical items that belonged together, they also guided the identification of major issues in the agenda of tourism governance in Athens in parallel with knowledge derived from documentary sources.

Collection and Analysis of Documents

Rich qualitative and quantitative information was obtained from numerous and diverse documentary sources. As well as supplementing and corroborating empirical evidence from interviews, the consultation of documents was particularly useful for the historical review of tourism development in Athens from the 1980s onwards along with the related effects of different policies and socio-political events (Chambers and Airey, 2001; Finnegan, 1996; Naipaul *et al.*, 2009; Yin, 2003). On the one hand, a large volume of statutes⁴⁶, policy and planning documents, and annual reports from the public, private and voluntary sectors mostly contributed to outlining the tourism policy institutional context along with the roles and interests of different actors. On the other hand, supplementary material including press releases, minutes of conference and internal meetings⁴⁷, articles and interviews derived from thematic and historical searches of electronic databases of magazines and newspapers⁴⁸, previous studies, parliamentary debates, judicial decisions of the 'Council of State', and statistics⁴⁹ added in-depth information over different aspects of this research.

⁴⁶ During the fieldwork phase of research, I visited many times the 'National Printing House' in Athens in order to collect printed pieces of legislation before 1999 that were not available for free through Internet.

⁴⁷ Apart from printed material that I collected mainly from tourism associations, I was also given the opportunity to attend the 'Annual General Meeting' of the 'Attica-Athens Hotel Association' in December 2007 as well as a meeting of the 'Board of Directors' of the 'Traders Association of Piraeus' in June 2008.

⁴⁸ Whenever a major tourism governance issue surfaced during discussions with interviewees, a simplified content analysis of articles and interviews took place according to the comments of Chambers and Airey (2001). Not only did the recurring nature of this analysis extend historical information and add valuable knowledge about the climate surrounding the processes of tourism policy and planning, it was also helpful while preparing myself before new interviews.

⁴⁹ Statistical information collected mainly from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece was treated with scepticism and added only in the Appendices of this thesis as supplementary evidence. The reason was the several discouraging comments that interviewees from both the public and the private sectors put forward about the adequacy and accuracy of tourism statistics in Greece.

With the bulk of document collection occurring during the first round of fieldwork, document analysis was a key aspect of the second round through the preparation of ‘Document Summary Forms’ (DSF). These forms helped me categorize and distinguish the most interesting documents⁵⁰, write down comments and summaries about their contents and relation to the case study of Athens, and connect ‘mute’ evidence of tourism policy with the perceptions of interviewees (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Naipaul *et al*, 2009). The difference between the DSF and the CSS is that the former was employed as the central tool for document analysis, whereas the latter merely preceded the main part of interview analysis through the preparation of each DAT. The development of each DSF was essentially consistent with the suggestions of Robson (2002), who views research questions and objectives as the best factors for clarifying what aspects of a document are important during content analysis. Alongside forms related to interview analysis, the DSF also provided faithful help during both the report and interpretation of empirical evidence. One DSF often contained information for a significant number of interrelated documents.

Presentation of Research Findings

In an effort to engage in a narrative constructed by both the experiences and values of the researched and researcher, the presentation of research findings in subsequent chapters places emphasis on the use of quotations from interviews (Kvale, 1996; Papageorgiou, 2006; Riley and Love, 1998; Stevenson et al., 2008). Before the interpretive intervention of the SRA in Chapter Eight, these quotes maximize the utility of empirical evidence during the thick description of particularities, practices, and processes of tourism policy

⁵⁰ This categorization was informed by the respective thematic categories that guided the analysis of interviews according to research objectives and a SRA to tourism governance.

and planning in Athens. More specifically, these quotes are attributed to four groups of actors throughout the discussion of actors' roles and activities (Chapter Five), the outline of tourism policy-institutional context along with actors' perceptions (Chapter Six), and the examination of recent events in tourism governance (Chapter Seven). To protect respondents' anonymity while revealing the essence of their comments, I have adopted a slightly modified version of the coding system that Papageorgiou (2003) devised for his own thesis in the University of Birmingham. Accordingly, I am using two types of codes whenever I use verbatim quotes. The target of the first two-letter code is to denote the group of actors in which each interviewee belongs (CG: Central Government Agencies, RL: Regional & Local Governments, TT: Tourism-Traders Associations, VG: Voluntary Groups). Additionally, four-letter pseudonyms have been constructed for each of sixty-one interviewees. Apart from anonymity, the usage of this second code also secures that I select quotations from various interviewees without allowing myself to be too influenced from the sayings of a particular respondent. Last but not least, the presentation of research findings capitalizes on an array of documents, with special emphasis placed on the analysis of legislation including four types of statutes (Laws, Ministerial Decisions, Joint Ministerial Decisions, and Presidential Decrees).

Research Design Quality

As I report here details of my first substantial engagement in tourism research, it seems odd to me towards the end of the methodology chapter to put forward a solid assessment of research design quality. The reason is that I still feel like exploring and making sense of the 'critical realist-thin constructivist foundations' of the SRA (Hay, 2002), which has been the theoretical milestone of this thesis, in the same way that many tourism scholars

strive to direct themselves among the principles and requirements of different inquiry paradigms. I feel this way especially because the employment of an exclusively qualitative methodology might be seen as an impediment to disciplinary efficacy. Mixing up quantitative and qualitative methods, Downward (2005) argues, is not for a critical realist simply a matter of assessing the possibility and benefits of methodological pluralism (Archer *et al.*, 1998). Rather, Downward views methodological triangulation as a prerequisite for the production of meaningful interpretations and inferences while considering that “*quantitative methods can identify partial regularities as outcomes of causal processes from which qualitative methods can investigate their causes*” (2005: 314). Given this is the first operationalisation of the SRA in the tourism policy and planning inquiry, the future may show how the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods at the empirical level of critical realist ontology can enhance knowledge about events and mechanisms of tourism politics at the actual and real levels.

To recognize, however, limitations does not cancel out the value of undertaking an in-depth exploration of the multiple and diverse ideas, practices, and institutions that shape a tourism governance context and its spatio-temporally specific idiosyncrasies (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Treuren and Lane, 2003). For a single case study, the same rationale characterizes the effort to reflect and limit the bias of the researcher as well as to enhance the intellectual status of research output (Beeton, 2005; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Pearce 2001; 2004; Xiao and Smith, 2006). In this respect, Box 4.7 summarizes the tactics through which I have attempted to improve research design quality, and meet certain criteria that surround the practice of qualitative and case study research while studying the governance of tourism development in Athens.

Box 4.7: Tactics to Improve the Research Design of the Case Study of Athens

Case Study Design Tests and Criteria of Trustworthiness

Internal Validity and Credibility

The focus here is on the degree to which research observations and inferences are not merely the product of subjective thinking, but provide insight into facts of tourism policy and planning (Bryman, 2004; Decrop, 1999; Erlandson *et al.*, 1993; Yin, 2003). According to Decrop, *“research is credible when the suggested meanings are relevant to the informants and when the theoretical propositions conform with the interview and observation data”* (2004: 159).

External Validity and Transferability

These criteria are concerned with the possibility for research findings from the tourism governance context of Athens to be applied in other research settings and groups of actors (Bryman, 2004; Decrop, 1999; 2004; Erlandson *et al.*, 1993; Yin, 2003).

Reliability and Dependability

Emphasis is placed here on the tools that would allow another researcher to arrive at similar conclusions about tourism governance in Athens, if he was replicating the same case study and research design (Decrop, 2004; Yin, 2003). For Bryman (2004: 274), the key lies in *“ensuring that complete records are kept of all phases of the research process”* by leaving to another researcher an audit trail to follow.

Confirmability / Objectivity

While it is recognized the impossibility of complete objectivity, these criteria are concerned with the degree to which research findings about tourism governance in Athens comprise the product of a basically unprejudiced analysis rather than reflect personal bias (Bryman, 2004; Decrop, 1999; 2004; Erlandson *et al.*, 1993).

Research Design Tactics

- Data triangulation in terms of the combination of empirical evidence from interviews and documentary sources.
- Theory triangulation in terms of the amalgamation of political science concepts and themes in the tourism policy and planning inquiry.
- Despite limitations, the process of keeping an account of personal decisions and experiences in a reflexive journal. The same rationale applies in respect to the systematic preparation of the tools of preliminary and main data analysis.
- Explanation building through the conceptual framework of the Strategic-Relational Approach.
- Outline of the case study research setting in terms of the socio-political context, geographical boundaries, and groups of actors under examination (purposive-snowball sampling)
- The interpretive intervention of the SRA after the thick description of particularities, practices, and processes of tourism policy and planning in Athens.
- Despite limitations, the process of keeping an account of personal decisions and experiences in a reflexive journal.
- Case study database in terms of organizations, interviewees, and documentary sources (in particular the bibliography of tourism policy legislation). Decisions and experiences recorded in the reflexive journal.
- Tools of analysis (transcriptions, contact summary sheets, data analysis tables, and document summary forms).
- Use of quotations during the presentation of analysis findings.
- Case study database in terms of organizations, interviewees, and documentary sources (in particular the bibliography of tourism policy legislation). Decisions and experiences recorded in the reflexive journal.
- Tools of analysis (transcriptions, contact summary sheets, data analysis tables, and document summary forms).
- Use of quotations during the presentation of analysis findings.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined philosophical and methodological issues in relation to the operationalisation of the conceptual framework of the SRA in the tourism policy and planning inquiry. In the first part of this chapter, the idea of employing a qualitative methodology was assessed not only as a means of transcending the narrow scope of value-free studies while investigating the governance of tourism development in Athens. What, in essence, justified this decision were the ‘critical realist-thin constructivist’ foundations of the SRA. In the interest of advancing the status of political analysis in the field of tourism, it was argued there is room for a reconsideration of the position of theory between the researcher and empirical evidence. The key lies in understanding the subtle intervention of theory in the interpretation of events, causal processes, and deep structural conditions. In strategic-relational terms, these phenomena are understood to emerge and be re-produced from the iteratively contingent interplay of material and ideational factors alongside the interplay of structure and agency in spatio-temporally specific contexts. One implication is that the task of qualitative methodology is to assist researchers in the exploration of the multiple values and experiences of actors involved in tourism politics. Another implication is that researchers need to be explicit about the ways in which personal experiences and values shape the research process and theory-informed interpretations of research findings. According to these thoughts, the second part of this chapter provided a reflexive account of the challenges and practices related to research design construction and implementation. Information about the sampling of organisations and interviewees was presented along with the processes and tools of data collection and analysis concerning interviews and documentary sources. Crucially, this discussion paved the way for the presentation of research findings in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Five: The Actors of Tourism Development in Athens

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I begin the presentation of research findings by discussing the roles of actors with respect to tourism development in Athens. The aim is to summarize powers and agendas of tourism actors and shed light on interrelationships. Throughout the presentation of research findings in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, the evidence derives from two sources of empirical information. The first is the analysis of policy documents and statutes. References to policy texts can be found in the main bibliography, while references to statutes {including Laws, Ministerial Decisions (M.D), Joint Ministerial Decisions (J.M.D), and Presidential Decrees (P.D)} are included in a separate list of legislation references. The second source of empirical information comes from interview findings whereby quotations are presented with different codes for each of the main groups of actors (CG: Central Government Agencies; RL: Regional and Local Governments; TT: Tourism-Traders Associations and Key Private Actors; VG: Voluntary Groups and other Individuals).

This empirical evidence combines information from actors belonging to distinct spheres of influence and interest, and therefore does not confine itself to the activities of any particular players. Rather, it gives insight into how the diverse actors relate to the wider picture of tourism politics, and whether they focus solely on their prescribed roles or are actually committed to collaboration in and among the various fields of tourism policy.

5.2 Central Government Agencies

Evidence from this research suggests that tourism policy in the Greek unitary state rarely stems from the plans and decisions of a single central government agency. Through a complex configuration of organizations and powers, the shaping of tourism policy increasingly blurs as it shifts from the national to the regional level, even before the intervention of regional-local authorities. One possible explanation can be traced in the distinctiveness of Athens as the country's capital city and the special attention ministries and other central government agencies pay to its development.

The Tourism Public Administration

Interview findings provided insights into the key role that tourism public agencies play in national tourism policy and the challenges they face in delivering their national missions. These long-standing challenges are discussed here in relation to the effectiveness of intra-governmental relationships and their effect on tourism development in Athens.

Consecutive Changes in the Evolution of the Tourism Public Administration

The spring of 2004 saw a new chapter in the evolution of tourism public administration. Following the inauguration of the newly elected centre-right government of 'New Democracy', the first wave of reforms included the establishment of the 'Ministry of Tourism Development' (MINTD) in the top echelon of tourism public administration (Law 3270/2004). Interviews with civil servants and members of tourism associations

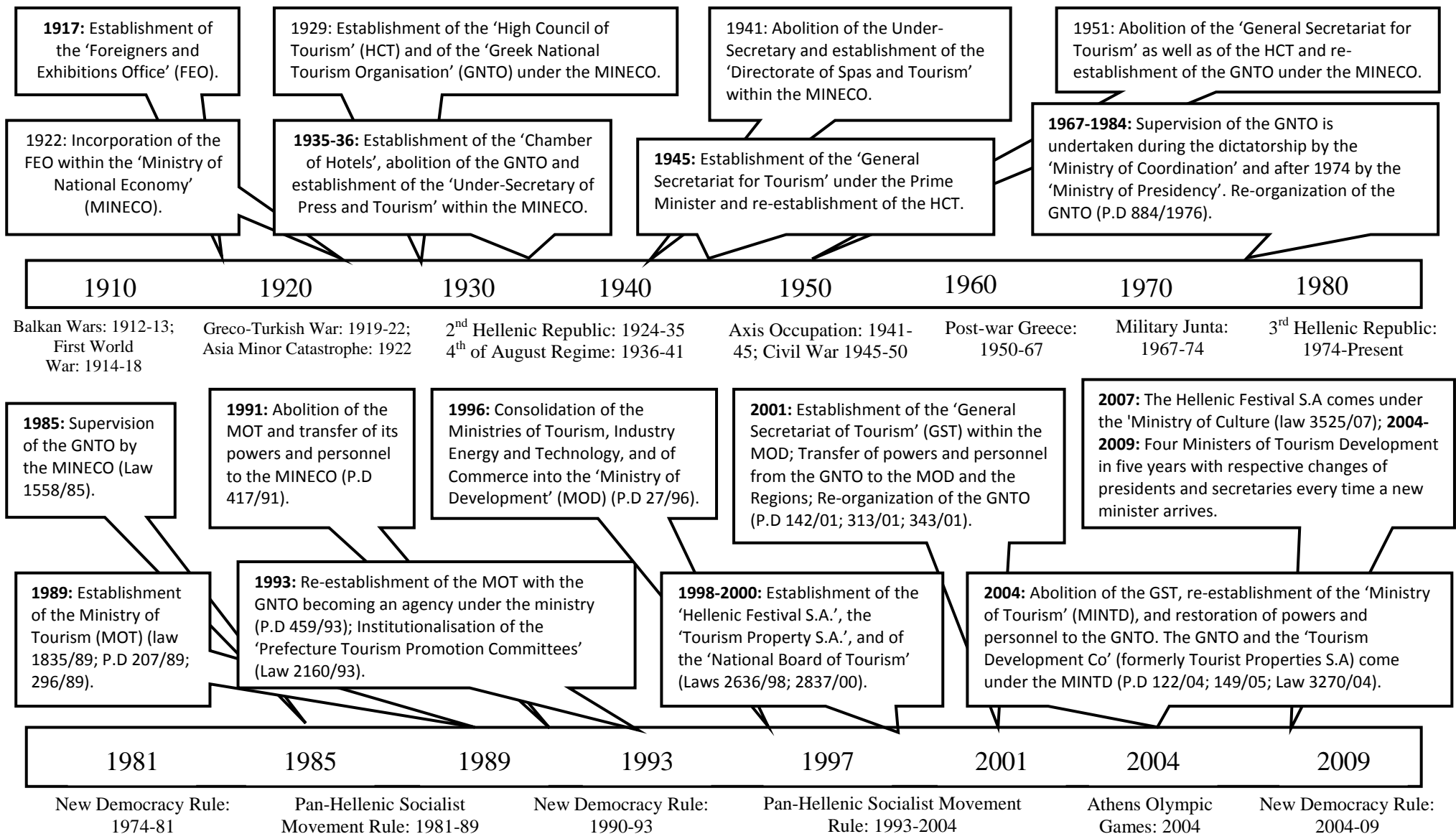
indicated that organized private interests welcomed this reform. To them, it promised an efficient scheme for the delivery of tourism public policy and the coordination of agencies involved in it, especially as *“tourism entrepreneurs couldn’t cope any more with the consecutive and not always rational changes in the administration’s structure”* (TT: Doxr). A detailed examination of legislation supports this view. The history of the tourism public administration in Greece is full of institutional twists and turns, including establishments, abolitions, and re-establishments of agencies. As Figure 5.1 shows, the sector experienced immense structural changes particularly between 1998 and 2004.

Controversy over the Evolution of Reforms

Scepticism about political decisions dominated discussions during interviews with civil servants, as is evident by the following interviewee from the MINTD:

“The transfer of regional services with licensing and supervisory powers from the ‘Greek National Tourism Organization’ (GNTO) to the Regions by the socialist government was the most dramatic change. People from the GNTO responded very negatively, because they had already lost other powers through the establishment of the ‘General Secretariat of Tourism’ in the ‘Ministry of Development’, and never facilitated this institutional change. These powers finally returned to the GNTO with the new government’s re-organization in 2004, contributing to the relief of struggling entrepreneurs. A solution was necessary, but this decision says something about the nature of political decisions as it is against the spirit of devolution.” (CG: Noto).

Figure 5.1: The Institutional Evolution of Tourism Public Administration in Greece (1917-2009)



Sources: Based on Venetsanopoulou (2004), statutes after 1976, and historical references from Wikipedia

Alongside the negative consequences of specific reforms, interviewees questioned the determination of consecutive leaderships to implement political decisions. For instance, the restoration of regional tourism services was seen as an unavoidable decision. Yet, *“delays and malfunctions occasionally create excessive bureaucracy, as four years after their re-establishment there are still problems in terms of personnel”* (CG: Tsak). Another interviewee from the MINTD pointed out that:

“This directorate was established in 2005 but was virtually inactive until the middle of 2007. Its evolution depends on the will of political leaderships. (...) Leaderships and priorities change so often, yet the existence of important directorates which remain inactive is a chronic phenomenon of the Greek public sector” (CG: Limp).

Challenges in Relationships between Tourism Public Agencies

Despite controversy surrounding the nature of reforms and the effectiveness of political decision-making, civil servants felt that the re-organization of 2004 might have led to a clarification of roles between the various agencies involved in tourism public policy. One interviewee expressed a sense of disbelief for the actual implementation of institutional powers.

“The MINTD is responsible for the planning and preparation of tourism policy. The GNTD has assumed the functional role to implement the ministry’s policies and to deliver tasks such as the licensing and supervision of tourism enterprises as well as promotion plans and advertising campaigns. (...) That is what papers say, but daily routine doesn’t always obey official guidelines in the absence of explicit guidelines and plans for the gradual differentiation of tasks” (CG: Apos).

The last comment exemplifies a common perception among civil servants and members of tourism associations that the institutional re-organization of 2004 has not yet fostered

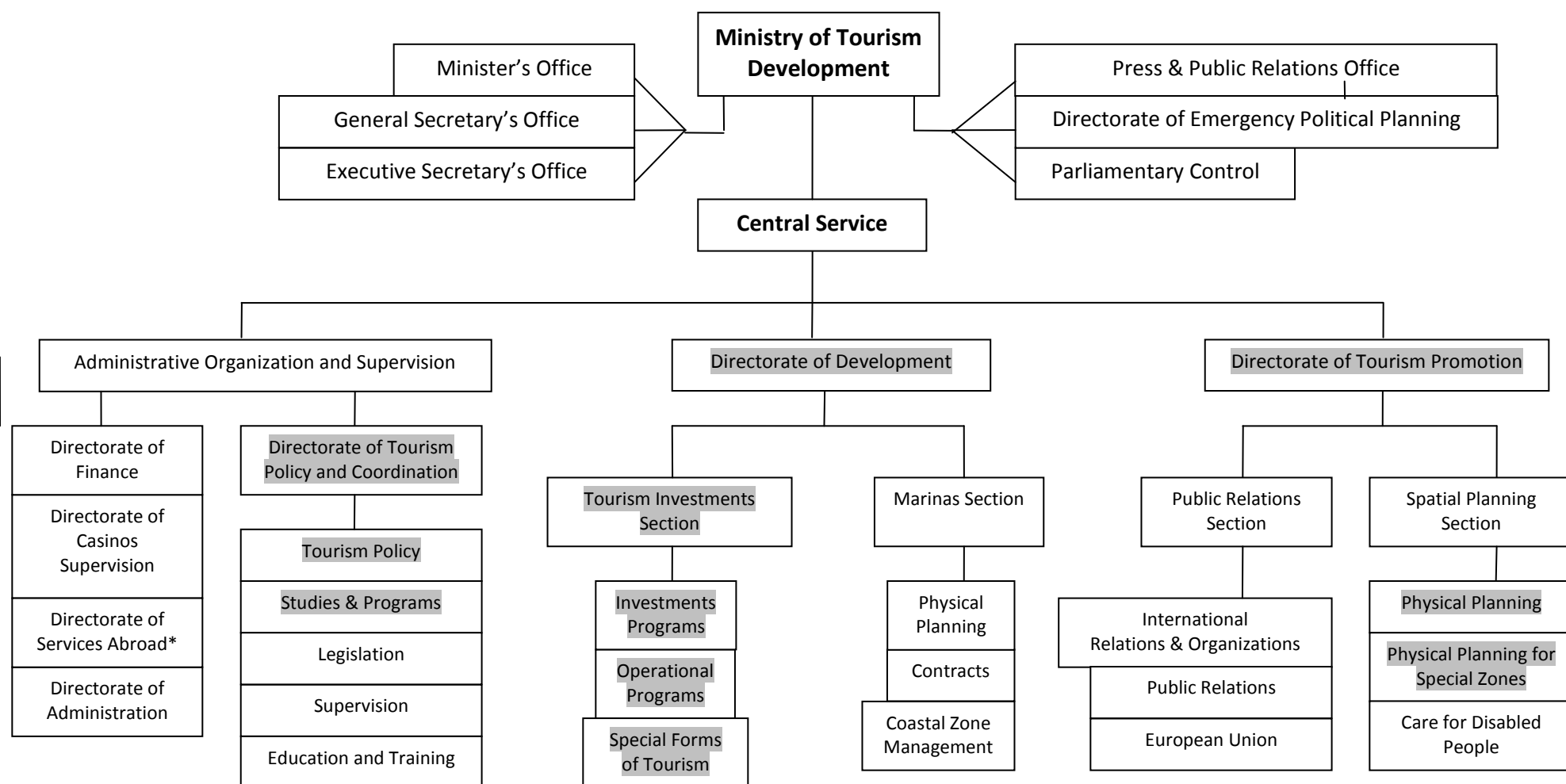
considerable improvements in tourism policy delivery. Interviewees were concerned, for instance, with the establishment of the MINTD, because *“it didn’t launch as an innovative and independent agency”*. Instead, *“it emerged as a rushed copy of the GNTD only because a particular politician had to get a ministerial chair the soonest possible”* (CG: Dopa). As an agency under the MINTD, the GNTD is officially overseen by the MINTD and its financial resources are determined by the respective ministerial budget. Yet, their coexistence does not seem to have met the private sector’s early expectations. According to senior heads working in the two organizations, this coexistence created confusion in terms of personnel relationships and unclear overlaps of statutory powers. One interviewee from the MINTD expressed his frustration:

“If the diverse directorates were strictly following the book, without agreeing some kind of a *Modus Vivendi*, we wouldn’t talk to each other. The GNTD is an agency under the MINTD, but the GNTD is in a more privileged position in terms of personnel, funds, and experience. (...) Either the two agencies will be integrated into the ministry or it must be clarified once again for what each organisation is responsible. Otherwise, the current dual scheme isn’t sustainable” (CG: Noto).

Confusion over the coexistence of the MINTD and GNTD is illustrated in organizational structures. Figures 5.2 and 5.3 (see shaded boxes) display how the two organisations share the same general directorates, while similarities also exist between sections and offices. In interviews, individuals from both organisations spoke about how relationships are hampered by the lack of clarity, and the need to differentiate roles and improve communication, as one participant from the GNTD pointed out:

“There are cases where the ministry is acting outside its authority and they don’t even get in touch with us. Our office has an important strategic role to play and they should communicate with us instead of constantly ignoring us” (CG: Kara).

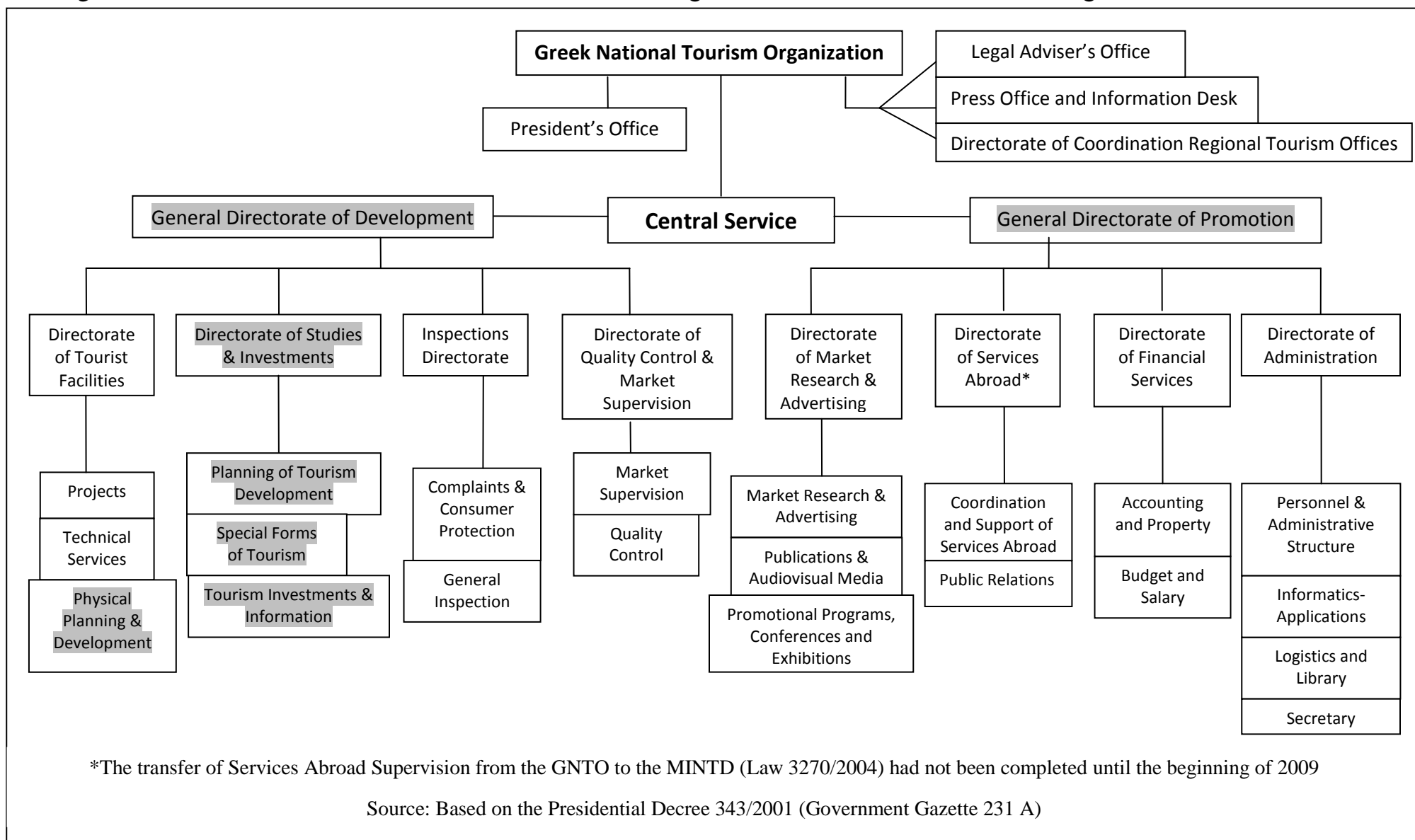
Figure 5.2: The Structure of the Ministry of Tourism Development Including Directorates and Offices



*The transfer of Services Abroad Supervision from the GNTD to the MINTD (Law 3270/2004) had not been completed until the beginning of 2009

Source: Based on the Presidential Decree 149/2005 (Government Gazette 211 A)

Figure 5.3: The Structure of the Greek National Tourism Organization's Central Service Including Directorates and Sections



Furthermore, people outside of government saw the weakness of the political leadership and public sector to deliver decisions and reforms as a matter of poor communication and role duplication. This viewpoint is exemplified in the following quotes from members of tourism associations:

“Many years ago the GNTTO used to be like a supra-ministry. The other ministries respected it, while its executives used to enjoy the prime minister’s confidence. The new government created the ministry, but did not clarify powers and strengthen coordination between the two agencies. For instance, the GNTTO could have become the spearhead for tourism marketing and promotion, something like the ‘Maison de la France’. Instead, the sector now deals with widespread confusion.” (TT: Fina).

“Given the sector’s contribution to national economy, the MINTD is useful because tourism has a more direct voice but only as long as issues at stake do not involve more powerful ministries” (TT: Raps).

Crucially, a policy area like tourism marketing, which has always been under the full control of tourism public agencies⁵¹, illustrates problems in the operation of the MINTD and GNTTO. Interviewees from the private sector expressed their disappointment for the long-term failure of tourism public agencies to deliver sophisticated tourism marketing at both the national and regional levels. In the years before 2004, the problem was that *“overnights in Athens were going from bad to worse but the city’s only promotion were international correspondences from the delayed building sites of Olympic facilities”* (TT: Vato; cf. statistics in Appendix G)⁵².

⁵¹ Before the establishment of the MINTD, the GNTTO used to be exclusively responsible for tourism marketing and promotion at the national level, while it also had the supervision of promotional activities undertaken by regional and local authorities (Law 2160/1993; P.D 343/2001). After 2004, the official endorsement of the MINTD is also required for all the advertising campaigns and other tourism promotional activities undertaken by organizations of the wider public sector in order to certify their harmonization with national guidelines (Law 3270/2004 as amended by Law 3498/2006).

⁵² For hoteliers especially, a more responsible approach was needed during a period in which 37 high-class hotels shut down within the wider area (Tourism and Economy, 1998).

After 2004, the private sector saw its hopes in tatters. Initially, tourism associations greeted the radical increase of tourism promotion funds along with the preparation in 2007 of the first ‘Strategic Marketing Plan for Greek Tourism’ (SMPGT). Since the SMPGT included specific proposals for the development and marketing of Athens as a city-break destination (Koumelis, 2007; MINTD, 2007; cf. Appendix H), tourism associations anticipated fresh initiatives at the regional level. According to a marketing professor, however, these hopes had faded by the middle of 2008 because of: “*an a-la-carte utilisation in delivering whatever was convenient rather than following the marketing plan’s guidelines*” (VG: Lato). Senior executives from the tourism public administration admitted that “*the duplication of roles between the MINTD and the GNTD has added bureaucratic burden*” (CG: Niko), while noting that reforms for the delivery of the SMPGT “*would require time and big political decisions*” (CG: Rido). At the same time, they criticized the private sector’s unwillingness to support state initiatives in comparison to countries like Spain, where “*the private sector provides more than 50 per cent of fund for tourism marketing*” (CG: Noto). Interestingly, the following responses from members of tourism associations portray the climate that hinders partnerships.

“Entrepreneurs are not willing to spend money in disconnected advertising campaigns every year. State officials haven’t given a responsible answer to the proposal for a public-private corporation that would assume the implementation, monitoring and constant update of tourism marketing for Greece and its localities, based upon institutionalised resources and professional management” (TT: Mako).

“Some of the public sector’s functions belong to the Middle Ages. (...) Ministers enjoyed public relations in the workshops but abandoned the SMPGT when they saw the challenges. (...) They didn’t present the final edition of the SMPGT because they couldn’t justify their superficial approach” (TT: Lopo).

Albeit these signs of conflict, to understand the delivery of tourism public policy requires more than merely identifying roles of and relationships between tourism public agencies.

The following discussion stresses that the status and experience of other ministries coerces the MINTD to work with them under adverse conditions. In fact, the intra-governmental context of tourism public policy can only be understood when equal attention is given to the role of additional ministries and central government agencies.

The Involvement of Other Ministries and Agencies under Ministries in Tourism Policy

Several interviewees cited the contribution of around 16 percent of the national GDP as an obvious reason why the tourism sector rightly deserves to be supported by the government. The existence of an inter-ministerial committee under the prime minister can be seen as an institutional recognition of the sector's significance. The committee's mission is to coordinate and monitor the implementation of policies for the country's tourism development as well as to undertake emergency measures at the outset of a crisis (M.D Y315/2003). Yet, this committee indicates that tourism policy is rarely dependent exclusively on the tourism public administration's will and decisions. In the words of a civil servant: *"the MINTD is often limited only to a complementary role because of a plethora of ministerial co-responsibilities across tourism-related policy areas"* (CG: Dopa). Consequently, I began to discover a source of horizontal intra-governmental tension. A senior executive of tourism public administration insisted that institutional co-responsibilities would be among first complaints in my discussions with tourism associations (CG, Niko), and was actually right:

"All the critical issues of tourism policy still require more signatures than the one of the MINTD. The public sector's broad operation and mentality does not facilitate the

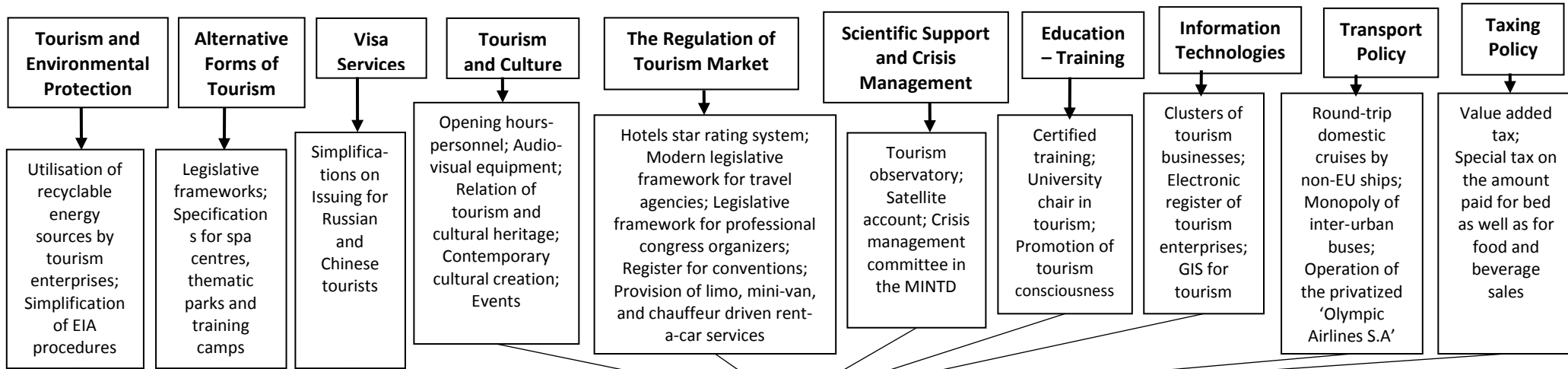
discovery of solutions, but the main problem is that certain ministries overlook the impact of their own policies on tourism. They take tourism for granted because they ignore the sector's problems. The MINTD has not critically improved this situation. You might sometimes get lost in an institutional maze, had you tried to figure out who is responsible for what" (TT: Lopo).

Consistent with the last statement, the search of bibliographic references and responses of interviewees from different tourism associations brought to the foreground a nearly chaotic portfolio of issues that dictate the agenda of tourism management in Greece and Athens. In an attempt to meet the complaints of the private sector for slow or no progress in many of these issues, clarifications over powers seem to be imperative. The reason is that rarely a single agency is exclusively responsible for a certain issue. As a response to the issues illustrated in Figure 5.4, a thorough examination of legislation demonstrates that tourism public policy comes from the use of statutory powers at different levels of administration.

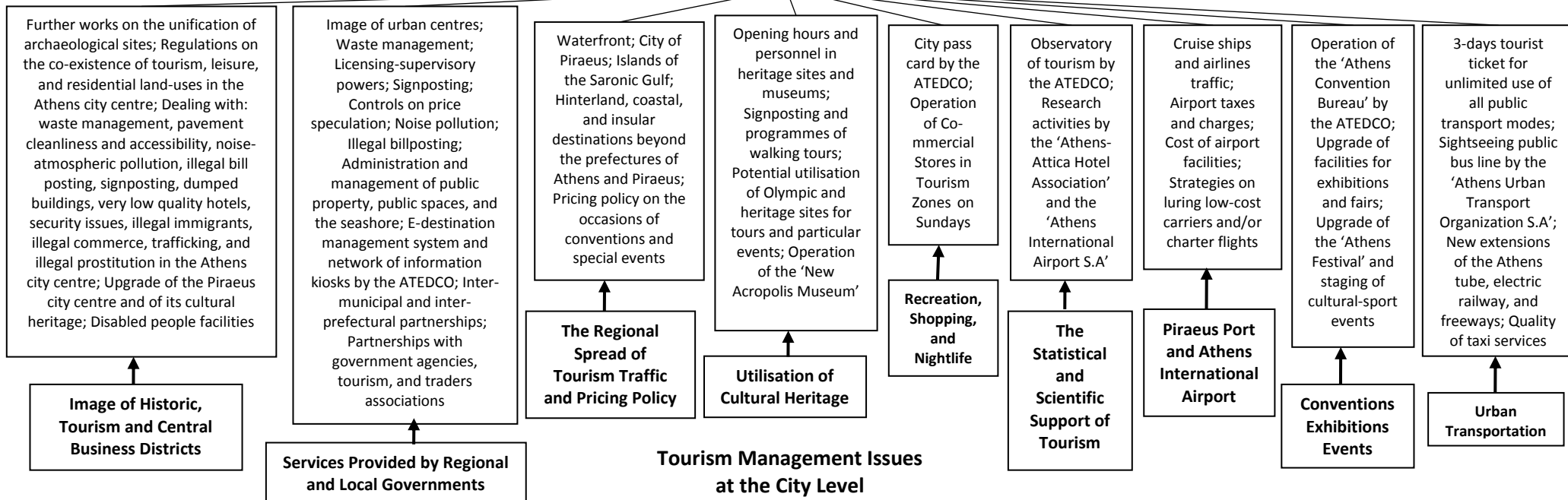
First, tourism policy emerges at the national level through a series of inter-ministerial relationships and committees. According to interviewees from both the public and the private sectors, the national position of the MINTD suffers from the agency's lack of experience due to being a relatively new organisation, its small budget in comparison with other ministries (see Appendix I), the fragmentation and overlap of statutory powers, and some common structural deficiencies of the Greek public sector such as its rigid bureaucratic nature and the lack of a skilled workforce. It remains to be seen in subsequent chapters to what extent the institutions linking those ministries counterbalance such disadvantages.

Figure 5.4: Examples of Pending Tourism Management Issues in Greece and Athens

Tourism Management Issues at the Country's Level



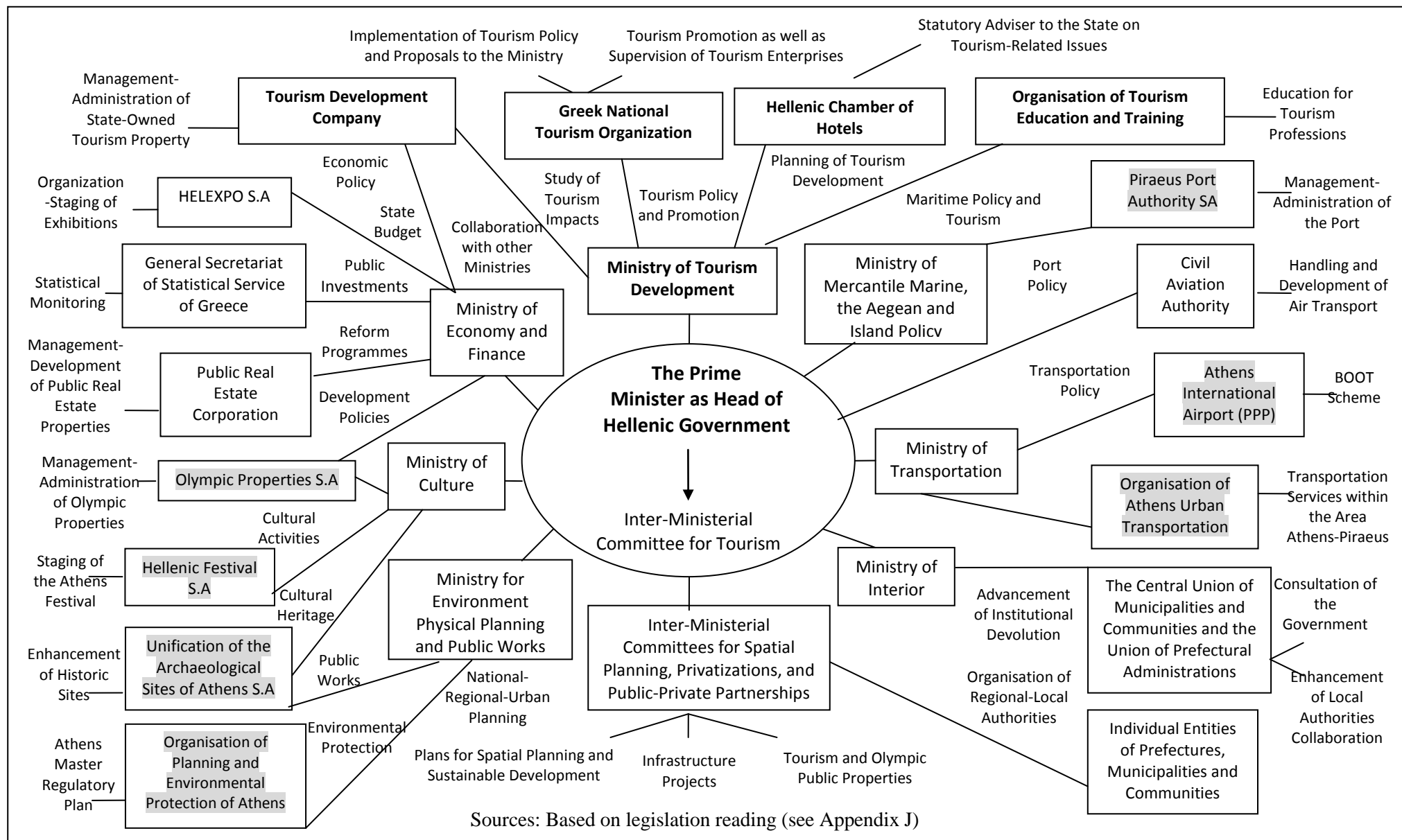
Athens as a Tourism Destination



Tourism Management Issues at the City Level

Second, there is a national-regional level in which agencies under ministries participate directly and indirectly in tourism development. The TDC under the MINTD is a government agency with a national mission on the management of state-owned tourism assets that plays a key role in Athens. Likewise, other ministries supervise agencies, whose activities focus exclusively on areas of Athens or on the whole of the Attica region (see shaded boxes in Figure 5.5). Figure 5.5 illustrates the dispersal of statutory powers among government agencies and how they shape different aspects of tourism development in Athens. This chapter so far has considered horizontal intra-governmental relationships, which only provide a partial account of the public sector's intervention in tourism policy. The next section scrutinizes the roles of regional-local governments and their vertical intergovernmental relationships with the central administration.

Figure 5.5: The Intra-Governmental Framework of Powers Shaping Tourism Policy for Greece and Athens



5.3 Regional-Local Governments

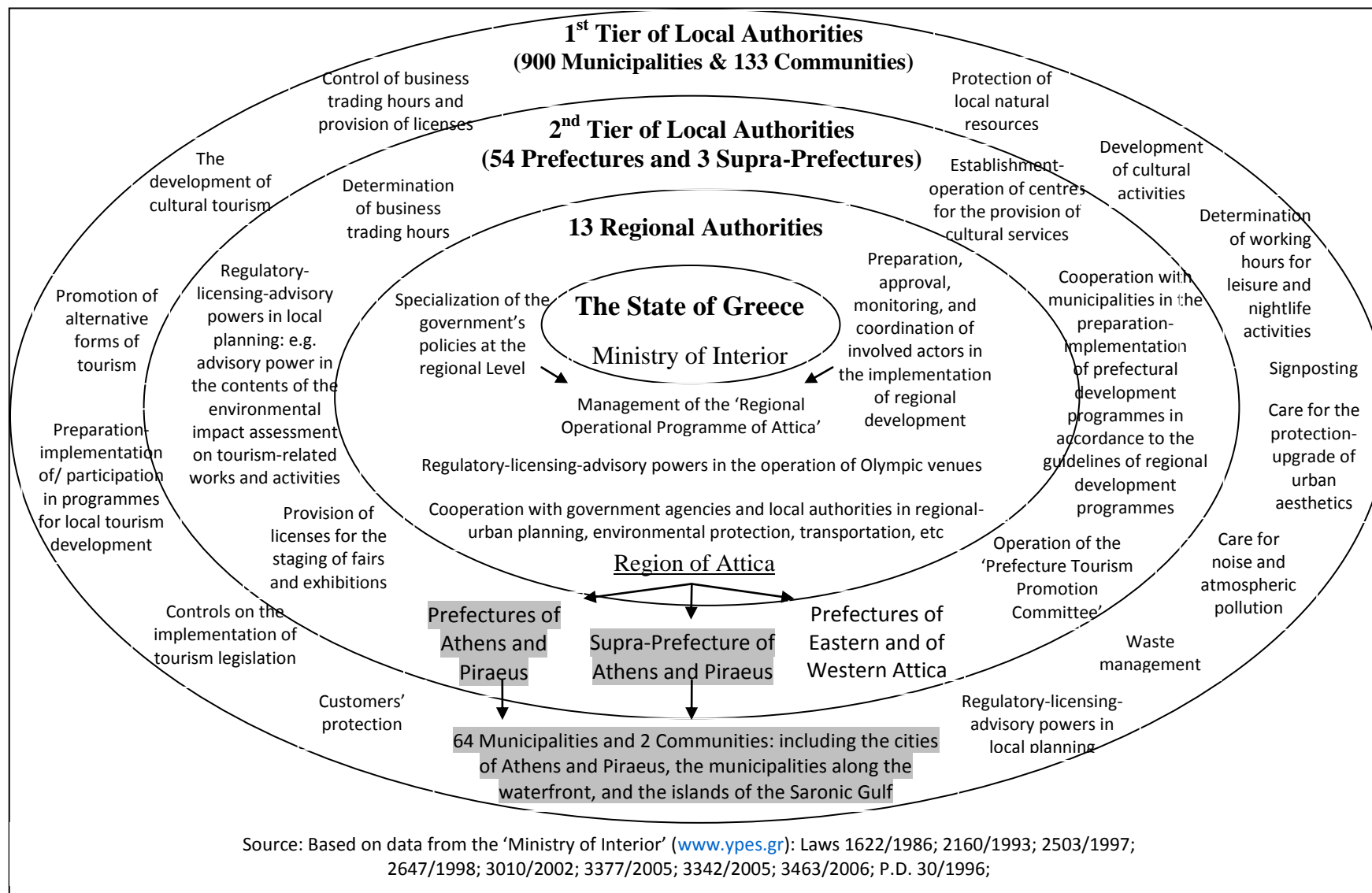
Interview findings and a review of legislation on statutory powers have shed light on the ways in which the activities of regional-local governments influence tourism development. The perceived fragmentation of actors and powers at the national level broadens as the numerous authorities operating within the wider area of Athens (shaded boxes in Figure 5.6), under the ‘Ministry of Interior’, outline the complexity of tourism policy coordination. The ‘Municipality of Athens’ enjoys the financial benefits of being the biggest and most developed local administrative area in Greece. However, tourism development expands beyond its boundaries and renders the examination of policy issues at a regional level a matter of further interest.

The Region of Attica and the Management of European Funds

In Greece, there are thirteen ‘Regions’ as decentralised units of government administration⁵³. Each region’s mission is to contribute to national plans and follow the government’s guidelines in economic, social, and cultural policies within its area of jurisdiction. The interviewee from the managing authority of the ‘Regional Operational Programme for Attica’ (ROPA) spoke about the region’s influential role in tourism policy through the management of European funds, and the need for partnership development.

⁵³ Regions and local authorities differ in that the government appoints the ‘General Secretary’ of each region, and the members of regional councils are representatives of professional bodies and local authorities. Prefects, mayors and the members of respective councils are elected by the people (Laws 1622/1986; 2218/1994; 2503/1997; 3463/2006; P.D 30/1996).

Figure 5.6: Simplified Presentation of the Administrative Structure and Tourism-Related Powers among Regional and Local Governments in Greece and Attica in 2008



“Tourism-related public infrastructure and private investments will expend from the ROPA 2007-2013 almost 95 millions € (...). The ‘Region of Attica’ along with an advertising company created in 2005 a tourism promotion plan that cost 10.5 millions €⁵⁴. We consulted tourism associations beforehand and adopted the national principles of tourism promotion, while the plan took place under the patronage of the GNTD during the latest stages. Nevertheless, the Region cannot be again the sole contractor. Most of tourism-related projects currently require the participation of tourism public agencies” (RL: Male).

Despite this reference to the necessity of partnerships, senior executives from the MINTD and the GNTD were quite circumspect and lacked enthusiasm about the role their organizations should play in the ROPA. Unlike previous periods, where funding was also received from sectoral operational programmes, between 2007-2013 Attica is only eligible to receive European funds from the ROPA (Region of Attica, 2007). Hence, as the following interviewee from the MINTD explicitly expresses, the lack of appreciation about the Region’s role is a worrying fact:

“Funds will be again devoted to the support of small and medium enterprises, which is ok but will not improve a lot in Attica. (...) It was nearly impossible for us to modify the Region’s plans. When each region was preparing its plans, we didn’t work closely with them not only because the MINTD and the GNTD were struggling with their internal changes. It is also difficult to work with somebody, when he is giving you a final set of propositions and doesn’t negotiate them. There are many activities undertaken by different authorities in the absence of a common plan” (CG: Dopa).

Since the advertising campaign was completed in 2007, interview findings indicated there was no sign for the immediate introduction of a new tourism promotion plan under the aegis of the Region. Hence, members of tourism associations did not hide their frustration for the ad-hoc and discontinuous pattern of regional tourism promotion, especially when

“at the beginning of 2008 you can still find information in the website about the events of

⁵⁴ This initiative included two compendious customer surveys, participation in international tourism fairs, an advertising campaign with printed and video material under the slogan ‘Surprise Yourself in Attica-Athens’, and the development of a tourism web portal (www.athensattica.com) (Region of Attica, 2009)

2006” (TT: Vato). Although next sections show that sporadic initiatives is a common trend in tourism marketing and promotion at the local level, the disjointed nature of tourism policy that prevents institutional learning transcends the particular policy area. It is also linked with regional planning and the management of state-owned property and coastal areas, where the aspirations of local governments used to thrive for the devolution of strategic powers and reforms that would replace the Region with a directly elected metropolitan administration.

The 2ⁿ Tier of Local Government – Prefectural Administration

As the boundaries of the ‘Supra-Prefecture of Athens-Piraeus’ coincide with the case study’s boundaries (Figure 5.7), I explored whether the presence of the supra-prefecture compensated for the lack of a metropolitan administration and reduced the centralised nature of tourism policy decision-making. During my discussion with the supra-prefect herself, I gained the impression that local officials were strongly favouring the vision of a democratically elected and competent metropolitan administration. Above all, they were aspiring to see strategic powers transferred from the national to the regional level.

“Although it hasn’t assumed strategic metropolitan powers in due course, the very existence of the supra-prefecture pertains to the area’s particularities and the need to improve coordination between prefectures. I advocate an elected metropolitan administration at the Region’s level, with prefectures incorporated as administrative departments, even if that would be sufficient reason for abolishing this structure. Yet, unlike what the centre-right government was promising until recently, they don’t favour this reform anymore due to adverse political and economic circumstances” (RL: Empi).

Figure 5.7: The Region of Attica Divided in Four Prefectures



Source: OPEPA (2007)

Alternative Interventions in the Absence of Strategic Powers

While the control of merely regulatory powers minimized the range of activities, the supra-prefecture ostensibly strived to intervene in the preservation and upgrade of green and public spaces. This research has discovered instances in which the supra-prefecture and the two prefectures were opposed to tourism-related projects along with municipalities and social actors, and employed activist and judicial tactics in their interactions with the central government. According to municipal officials and members of citizen groups, they forged alliances with the prefectures in order to exert political pressure. For instance:

“The prefecture encouraged the counter-proposal of our municipalities about the metropolitan park against the government’s plan. They also participate in public demonstrations for free beaches and lead the fight for green spaces, although they had not shown similar sensitivities when their party was in government” (RL: Ropo).

“The prefect supported citizens against the construction of new installations in the marina that would provoke environmental damage. Besides achieving the rejection of the ‘Environmental Impact Assessment’ (EIA) by the council, he also backed our appeal to the Council of State (COS) when the EIA was accepted by the MINENV and the MINTD. I just remember his dispassionate reaction when the marina’s privatization started during the previous government’s tenure, and I am wondering how he would react if his party was still in power” (VG: Kist).

As the flexibility of politicians to change their views is also a matter of personality, non-state actors occasionally regard the credibility of institutions as depending on personal attitudes and political preferences. The ascendancy of such attributes, at the expense of official institutions, becomes popular when the rules of the game do not allow space for direct interventions. With prefectural councils possessing only advisory powers upon the EIA⁵⁵, ministries took the final decision in the previous example without necessarily any consultations with the prefectural council. The institutional process would have been the same, had the political party in government coincided with the leading party in the prefecture. In such a case, however, the member of the particular citizen group felt that the prefect would be reluctant to depart from the line of his political party.

Dependency on the Central Government’s Decisions – Organizational Challenges

The lack of strategic powers and financial resources along with the dependency on the plans of government agencies inform the willingness of prefectural administrations to collaborate or not. Theoretically, prefectural operational programmes (Administration of Athens Prefecture, 2006; Administration of Piraeus Prefecture, 2005) include diverse

⁵⁵ Law 3010/2002 and JMD 37111/2021/2003

tourism-related fields where prefectures could make a contribution. The same documents recognize, however, that promising activities depend on the powers of government agencies. Possible partnerships and financing schemes are listed but without specific action plans and timetables. Hence, work undertaken in the tourism departments of the prefectures of Athens and Piraeus, in delivering the annual action plan approved by the ‘Prefecture Tourism Promotion Committee’ (PTPC), is much dependent on funding by the GNT0⁵⁶ and faces challenges in the absence of adequate organizational structures:

“The action-plan encourages participation in international and domestic tourism fairs, elementary advertising campaigns, public relations, and the publication of printed and digital material. We could do more, but this office was inactive until 2.5 years ago. It has now the director and only one employee, when the PTPC as an institution dates back to 1993” (RL: Dosi).

Similar discontent with operational issues was also recorded in the other prefecture:

“For almost ten years until 2006 there was a small department participating in the biggest domestic tourism fair. Lately, a more systematic operation of the PTPC has led to this establishment of this directorate. Eight people are working here, but two of the four departments are still inactive. Is it possible to prepare a targeted marketing plan or assess the activities of advertising campaigns and exhibitions when the market research department remains inactive” (RL: Kadi)?

The enactment of the PTPC (Law 2160/1993) aimed at facilitating coordination from the national to the prefectural level along with collaboration between prefectures, municipalities, and non-state actors. The evidence from interviews outlined, however, a rather dissimilar picture. One member of a tourism association expressed not a great deal of trust for this institution, as “*there is nothing to suggest in the prefectural action plan the*

⁵⁶ According to Law 2160/1993 the annual tourism promotion plans of each prefecture are co-funded by the GNT0 to a maximum 50% of their total budget. To the aid of each prefecture, the same law refers to required subscriptions by other actors, who, in return, are appointed a chair in the PTPC.

meticulous management and promotion of Athens as a city-break destination” (TT: Vato).

Other representatives of the private sector put forward similar viewpoints while justifying the merely advisory nature of their participation in each PTPC. Interviewees from prefectural administrations commented somehow ironically that this is the typical behaviour of the private sector, although they also admitted they have possibly failed to persuade tourism associations *“about the effectiveness and efficiency of our activities”* (RL: Dosi). Within this conflicting environment, the following quotations expose challenges for improving collaboration in the face of problematic horizontal and vertical relations as the discussion moves from the prefectural to municipal level.

“The two prefectures have not undertaken common initiatives so far, although the partial integration of action plans could be a straightforward process under the supra-prefecture’s wing. (...) Informal contacts with the ‘Municipality of Athens’ have not seriously evolved because leaderships come from different political parties, while the ‘Athens Tourism and Economic Development Company’ (ATEDC) is more robust in terms of funding sources” (RL: Dosi).

“The supra-prefecture does not possess the expertise to exercise comprehensive coordination, and I don’t think the national government holds such expectations either. The prefectures have no opportunities to inform the MINTD on problems because they have no representatives in the ‘National Board of Tourism’ and did not participate in consultations for the SMPGT” (RL: Empi).

The 1st Tier of Local Government – Municipal Administration

In this study, the selection of municipalities within the supra-prefecture was based on the sampling framework’s development discussed in Chapter Four. Athens, the port of Piraeus, and the coastal municipalities, lying to the south-east of Piraeus and covering the seashore of the Prefecture of Athens, were identified as distinguishing tourism areas.

Constraints to the Regeneration of Piraeus

According to evidence from interviews, local actors agree that Piraeus needs to build on tourism and marine activities for its regeneration. Relevant activities include the port's functional integration with the city, the protection and upgrade of beaches, the enhancement of public transportation, the preservation of architectural heritage, and the promotion of cultural events. It was felt that the 'Municipality of Piraeus' could be the spearhead of local initiatives. Yet, during my discussion with the deputy-mayor of Piraeus, he complained about the government's long-term apathy and the Piraeus Port Authority's (PPA) ignorance of the city's problems. The municipal administration claims to recognize the value of tourism-related issues, but doubts arise about their priority status in the absence of a department dealing exclusively with tourism. Another underlying cause for the current administration's cautiousness is "*a debt of 180 millions € from previous administrations*" (RL: Ravo). As a result, efforts towards regeneration seem to depend on the mayor's political contacts and friendships:

"The mayor and his partners communicate every day with ministries in the search for solutions. For instance, the minister of transportation is a personal friend of the mayor and of Piraeus. We are very often asking for his help and do the same with other ministers too, although we come from different political parties" (RL: Ravo).

As the particular politician has stopped being minister, pending issues may have been affected or a new friend may have been identified inside the government's camp to counterbalance the loss. The big issue concerns, however, the lack of consensus with the PPA. Without mentioning the existence of the PPA, the 'Municipality and the Prefecture of Piraeus' (2009) recently embarked on a joint initiative for the city's development as an

international marine centre,. The deputy-mayor accused the PPA of polarizing relationships and “*not integrating its plans with planning for the city’s development*” (RL: Ravo). After completing his historical review of municipal leaderships, the interviewee from the PPA defended his organization and condemned those ‘old-fashioned politicians’, “*who failed to inspire visionary projects and knew only to criticize the initiatives of the PPA*” (CG: Kotz). The same interviewee was also unconcerned of the port authority’s exclusion from the local forum of discussions, that is the ‘Informal Council of Piraeus’ including the municipality, the prefecture, the traders association and other local actors.

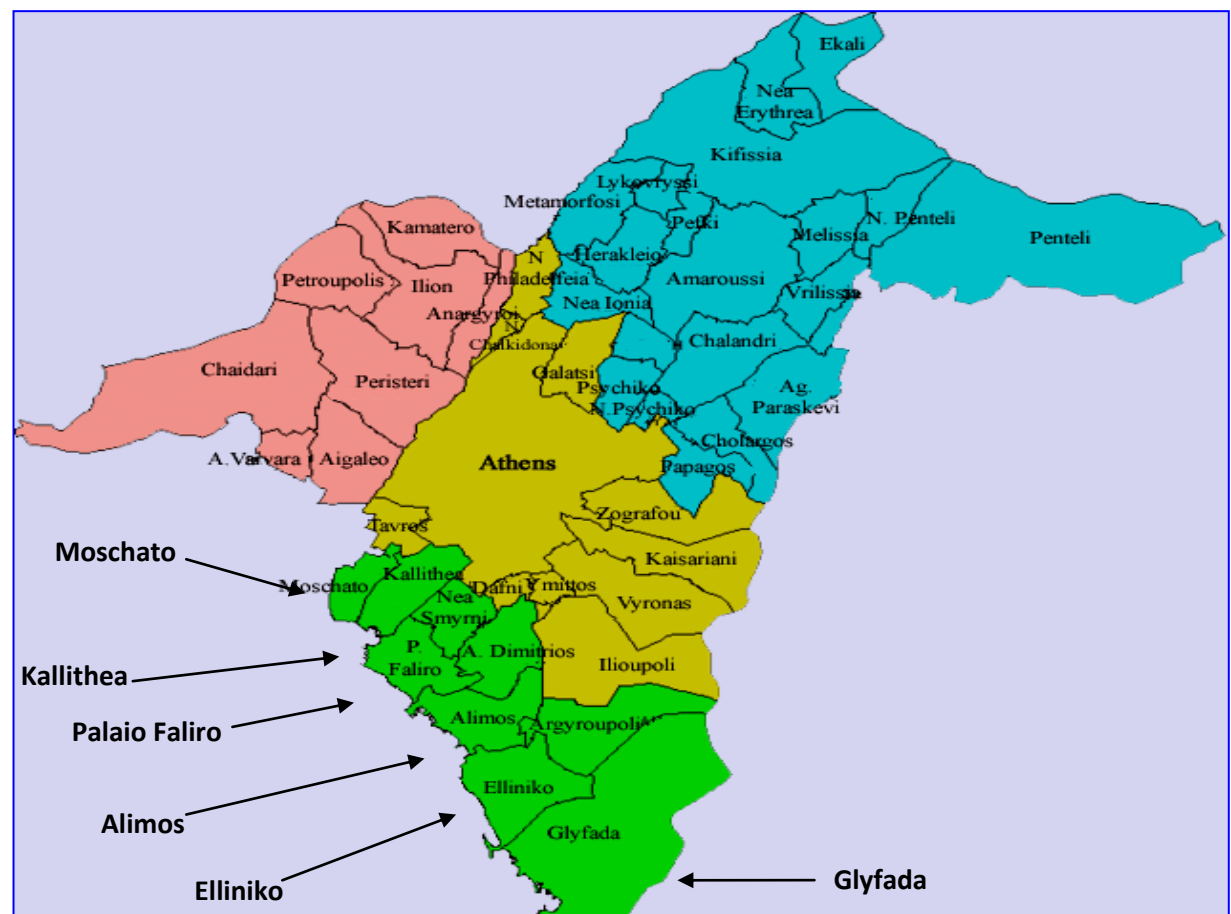
The Coastal Municipalities of Athens Prefecture and their Conflicts with the Central State

Like Piraeus, tourism issues in coastal municipalities (southern green areas in Figure 5.8) are treated at the mayor’s office or at another directorate usually responsible for environmental or cultural issues. Although the majority of hotels are situated within the city of Athens, there are some notable exceptions along the coast. Yet, what substantially connect each coastal municipality to tourism development are the political arguments about the management of state-owned property it sustains with government agencies such as the MINENV, the OPEPA, the MINCUL, the ‘Olympic Properties S.A’, and the TDC.

Local officials’ opinions about these agencies vary, but one common objection reflects a lack of trust. The administrations of coastal municipalities assert that neither before nor after the Olympics had governments made a serious effort to integrate their viewpoints into respective government plans. Through activism and judicial battles, some mayors

were converted into defenders of state-owned property and appeared critical of the government's intention to lease the numerous state-owned assets on a long-term basis. Concerning also green spaces, local officials argued that tourism development must respect the environment and not set obstacles to recreational opportunities for citizens. Therefore, local officials justify their manoeuvres as a means of protecting local interests. At the same time, these tactics can be used as symbols of political commitment to local interests, when operational weaknesses and bad management are hidden behind the provision of poor services. None of the municipal officials ever made an anti-tourism comment. Yet, they blamed various central governments for mistakes, as the following interviewees pointed out about the post-Olympic management of state-owned assets:

Figure 5.8: The Prefecture of Athens



Source: OPEPA (2007)

“Our city could be playing a dynamic role by improving its own services and enriching the tourism product of Athens. However, the government’s decisions after 2004 isolated the city from the coast. As well as preventing the access and fencing in the Olympic facilities, the government ignored our requests and ceded the beach-volleyball centre to private interests. (...) We appealed to the Council of State against the conversion of the beach-volleyball centre to a facility for private recreational and commercial activities. When the government understood we would win the case, they started bargaining with us and nowadays we are close to a mutually beneficial deal” (RL: Lido).

“Tourism development is important but even more important is the right of local people and other Athenians to be able to swim and enjoy themselves in some beaches with free admission. Hence, we fight with any available means to secure free access and halt the government’s plans, which go against local interests” (RL: Ziko).

The Role of the Municipality of Athens within a Complex Institutional Framework

The ‘Municipality of Athens’ has a leading role to play in tourism development, but faces challenges because of the dispersal and overlap of statutory powers. The municipality is responsible for preparing tourism development plans, providing relevant services, and promoting alternative forms of tourism (Law 3463/2006). These powers seemingly meet certain requirements for the development of a competitive tourism destination. Nevertheless, even a reference to cultural tourism generates controversial thoughts. As culture can refer to archaeological sites, museums, architectural heritage and events, the plethora of public actors involved in cultural activities transcends the municipal level and reproduces a crowded, conflicting and fragmented institutional picture from the local to the national level. The ‘Athens Festival’ is only one example where the responsible agency, the ‘Hellenic Festival S.A.’ under the MINCUL, has failed to coordinate its activities with the respective municipality as: “*It was recently announced a new festival exactly on the same dates with our own. It isn’t the same kind of event, but confusion is inevitable due to the mayor’s personal ambitions*” (CG: Thap).

Institutional confusion is clearly problematic. The municipality is only one responsible authority, among many, to deal with the management of recreational areas and archaeological sites as well as with the lack of green spaces, illegal immigration, drug trafficking and illegal prostitution, which threaten the quality of tourism experience. Environmental organizations and citizen groups either express scepticism about the municipality's capacity to make a serious impact or accuse it of backing an imbalance between economic development and welfare activities at the expense of the latter. By contrast, there is more freedom for action in the field of tourism, because the MINTD has no authority to interfere as long as local plans conform to national guidelines. This capacity was confirmed in 2005, when the 'Organization for Tourism and Economic Development of Athens' (OTEDA) was established. For public officials, it was a result of high expectations after the Olympics. For tourism associations, however, it was better late than never. The following member of the 'Association of Greek Tourist Enterprises' (AGTE) effectively summarized the private sector's desire to see improvements, after years of sporadic activities and minimal reciprocal benefits from a special municipal tax⁵⁷.

"The AGTE has been asking for such an organization {like the OTEDA} since 1995. Previous mayors in Athens were full of promises, but municipalities never explain how they spend high revenues from the special tax. (...) Even the recent progress is little. Only a regional replica of the GNTD could be effective. The new organization cannot make an impact without assuming key powers or being able to integrate into a strategic plan the diverse agencies involved with tourism in Athens" (TT: Lopo).

Concerns about transparency and accountability, especially on behalf of hoteliers, always surround the purpose of this special tax, which alone generated annual revenues of 15 millions € for the 'Municipality of Athens' in 2003 and 2004 (ATEDC, 2006; Dafni,

⁵⁷ Institutionalised with the law 339/1976; amended with laws 658/1977; 1080/1980; 1828/1989; 2130/1993; 2539/1997: tax on the amount paid for bed in hotels (2%) as well as on food and beverage sales (5%).

2003). But concurring with the afore-mentioned scepticism, it does not cancel out the appearance of a promising local actor. According to its director of tourism development, the organisation has evolved since 2005 from a single department into a flexible autonomous municipal agency, whose *“influence used to be peripheral but the more the turnover expands the more this influence will increase and meet international standards”* (RL: Rops). In recognizing the dispersal of powers and the prevalent perception that tourism development is basically the central government’s responsibility, this organization focuses on innovative practices and gradually strengthens its organizational status:

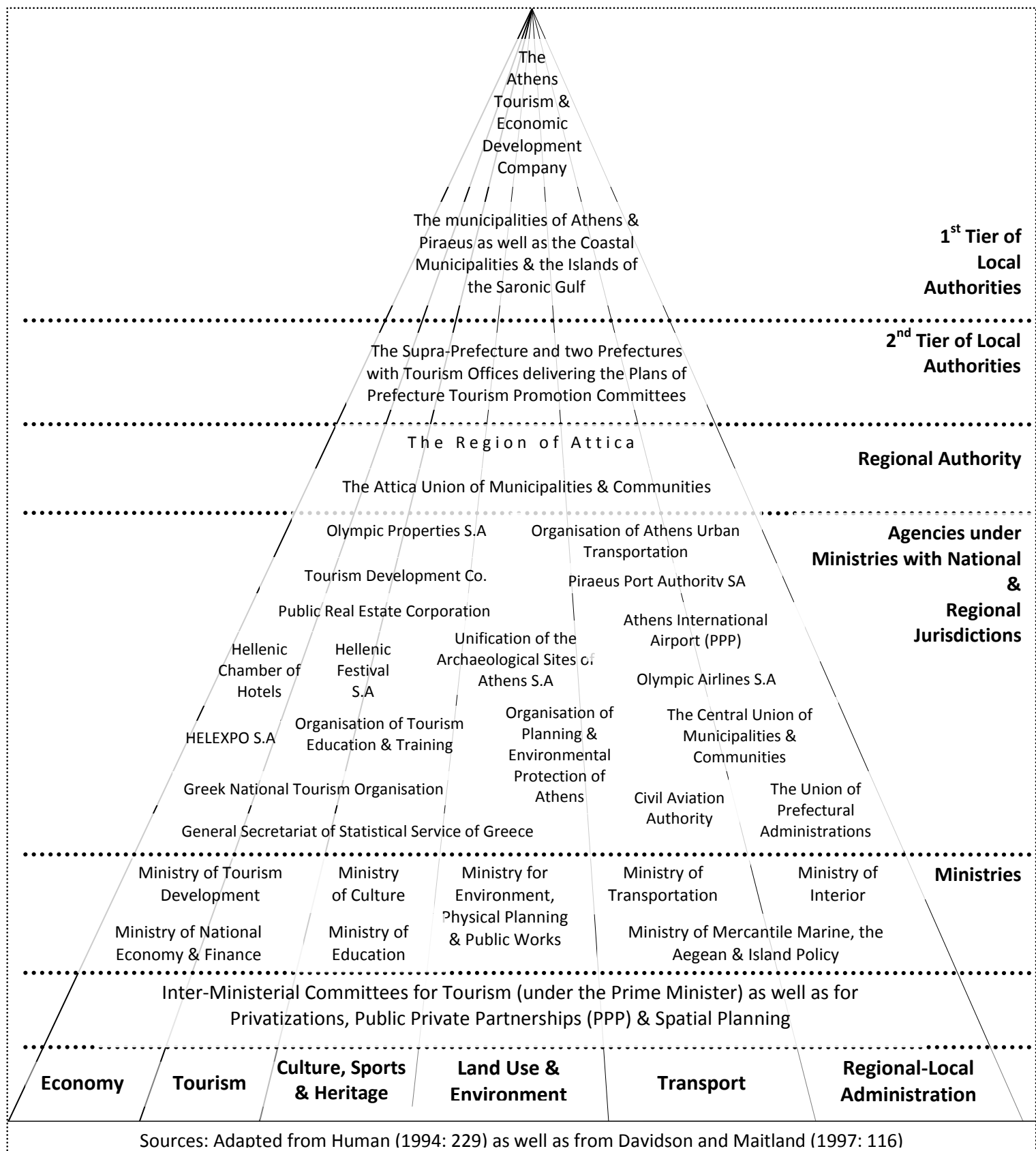
“We are open to the prospect of partnerships and have included members of tourism associations in the board of directors. Yet, currently, the most important step is the organization’s transformation to a development company, which will start operating from the beginning of 2008” (RL: Rops).

Potential for the Development of a Destination Management Organization

Capitalizing on provisions of the most recent code of municipal powers (Law 3463/2006), the re-established ‘Athens Tourism and Economic Development Company’ (ATEDC) gained access to better funding schemes including European funds, added skilled personnel, and extended its range of tourism-related activities. The company’s latest action plan (see Appendix K) puts forward a notable portfolio of objectives, which reflect aspirations for improving tourism marketing and management, developing alternative forms of tourism, and building partnerships. Furthermore, the plan’s activities customize the objectives and vary from tourism marketing and management initiatives to the establishment of the ‘Athens Convention Bureau’ and the development of two web-portals.

These activities are arguably enough to put the 'Municipality of Athens' ahead of other municipal administrations in the wider area in terms of tourism development initiatives. They also unveil the potential of the ATEDC to follow the patterns of international destination management organisations and enable collaboration among the various actors of tourism development in the wider area. In spite of any scepticism, interviews indicated that both the tourism public administration and the private sector carry high expectations of the role the ATEDC might play in the future. The debate about the establishment of a destination management organisation (DMO) has just started and requires an analysis of the policy-institutional context. At this point, Figure 5.9 demonstrates that a DMO could minimize negative effects from the dispersal of powers and improve the coordination of activities, which expand across policy areas and levels of administration. As a DMO could play a mediating role and bring together the various public agencies involved in tourism policy, the discussion in Chapter Seven focuses on what challenges accompany the rise of the ATEDC as a DMO. The current discussion has to consider, however, the roles of non-state actors including members of the private and voluntary sectors.

Figure 5.9: The Triangle of State Agencies
Shaping Tourism Development in Athens



5.4 Tourism-Traders Associations and Key Private Actors

This study revealed controversial views on the contribution of business interests to tourism governance. From a pluralist perspective, each segment of tourism enterprises is rarely represented by only one association, especially when associations in similar sectors do not always maintain the best of relationships with each other. Evidence from interviews suggests that limited financial resources and potent personalities rather than organizational structures are often behind the failure of partnerships and coordination. It is interesting to note that interviewees from the MINTD and the GNTD criticised some associations and their leaderships as ‘old-fashioned’ with a narrow understanding of tourism. This viewpoint was not firmly rejected even by some members of the private sector. Yet, tourism associations do not confine themselves to their sectoral issues. Apart from consulting with the state, they focus on lobbying and some of them conduct important tourism research and promotion. They appreciate that by strengthening their arguments, integrating their voices, and informing public opinion about the importance of tourism development and the deficits of tourism public policy, it will be hard for central government agencies not to embrace their proposals. Moreover, the incorporation in this research of the opinions of other private actors with a genuine interest in tourism, like the traders associations of Athens and Piraeus and three corporations of Public Private Partnerships (PPP), provided more insight into the private sector’s institutional intervention in tourism.

The Intervention of Hotel Associations in Tourism Policy and Planning

Hotels are the only sector represented by both a chamber and an association. Among several duties, the ‘Chamber of Hotels’⁵⁸ (COH) provides much needed tourism studies and statistics, along with the ‘Institute of Tourism Research and Forecasts’, and advises as well as represents hotels from all over the country. Yet, its advisory role is mainly accomplished through direct communication with tourism public administration, whenever an important subject surfaces, and participation in committees and statutory boards. The quality of this communication troubles the COH as: *“it often goes one or more steps backwards because of frequent changes in the political leadership, while boards do not sit systematically, if they sit at all”* (TT: Doxr).

Throughout this research, references to the effectiveness of consultation bodies sparked heated debates during interviews with non-state actors. The COH itself faces claims of poor regional representation and criticism for its slow progress towards more inclusive representation. Critical comments arose more than once about the president of the COH and *“his unenthusiastic attitude towards the chamber’s modernization”* (TT: Fina). Tourism associations also accused the state of not accelerating the upgrade of the COH, because they feel that services provided by local chambers of commerce do not match the financial contributions of entrepreneurs. In Athens, such deficiencies are tackled through the ‘Attica-Athens Hotel Association’ (AAHA). The AAHA is a component of the ‘Hellenic Hotel Federation’ and its concerns about the unsatisfactory progress of tourism development and collaboration cannot be ignored, as its director points out:

⁵⁸ Currently under the MINTD, the COH has been operating as a legal entity of public law since the 1950s (Laws 3430/1955; 2081/1992; 2160/1993; 3270/2004; 3419/2005; 3498/2006).

“The AAHA participates in the ROPA monitoring committee, the PTPC of the ‘Prefecture of Athens’, and the board of directors of the ATEDCO. But without coordination between authorities of different tiers, it doesn’t make sense in how many boards we participate. (...) The AAHA is always sending press releases and publishes studies in annual general meetings to communicate the hoteliers’ disappointment for the lack of a strategic plan for tourism development. Real progress will be made only when the state realizes that our proposals will benefit both hoteliers and the area’s economy and society” (TT: Vato).

Challenges in Relationships among Tourism Associations

Compared with hotels, the representation of the rest of tourism enterprises is larger-scale but quite fragmented. Tourism actors noted that poor communication is problematic and associated with the fragmented nature of associations and federations⁵⁹. As it is expressed in the next quotes, poor communication also appears to exacerbate tension between associations representing similar professional sectors, such as travel agents and convention organizers, because of personal ambitions and conflicting interests:

“When the national association of travel agencies became a member of the federation, it was beneficial mostly for the federation because the specific association was powerful already with thousands of members. The deal didn’t last for too long, because the chairman position’s was not given to the association’s president as it had been promised. Since then, they work together only if there is a common threat” (TT: Basi).

“Travel agencies include many different segments and conflicting interests are difficult to overcome” (TT Raps).

“A new association appeared when our own had completed 25 years as the legal representative of exhibition and conference organizers. We thought it would be positive for all of us to get together. Then we found out they had established a non-profit union with rotation of chairmanship instead of a professional association. We didn’t prosecute them in order not to spoil the sector’s reputation. I wouldn’t rule out a merger, but it isn’t a certainty either” (TT: Mako).

⁵⁹ According to Laws 1712/1987; 2081/1992, there are two types of associations: first-grade associations, including individual businesses, and second-grade federations, including at least three associations. These organizations are not equally distributed. Often the majority of corporate members reside in Athens, even though their activities may be spread all over Greece.

Poor communication may also be responsible for slow progress on the sector's requests because, in dealing with the state, *"the lack of unity provides a convenient alibi to public authorities"* (TT: Basi). As another private actor put it more sarcastically, *"politicians see the lack of consensus and don't take us seriously"* (TT: Raps). The slow and difficult growth of relations inevitably affects capacity to act. Small associations may not possess the resources even to maintain an office, so members make telephone calls in order to organize meetings, discuss pending issues, and decide the content of correspondence and press releases. Wealthier associations devote resources to public relations and activities such as the creation and update of a website, participation in fairs, sponsoring, research, and networking with international associations. Conferences and open general meetings are used to gather and communicate their agenda to professionals and state officials. However, there is little evidence of long-term partnerships, with certain cases revealing a history of failed attempts at collaboration. The following quotes clarify this point, although there is always some kind of criticism for the public sector's mentality and operation:

"Apart from the COH and the region, responses from local governments and government agencies were negative when four tourism associations established the 'Athens Convention-Visitors Bureau' (ACVB). They welcomed our determination to assume responsibility only because we were the suckers paying for everything. When the available funds exhausted, the ACVB shut down" (TT: Mako).

"The ACVB failed because innovative ideas are not easily accepted, when changes in people's minds are required. The same occurred when the government asked from associations to form a consortium and proceed with the conversion of an Olympic venue to the metropolitan convention centre. We spent one year discussing without results. The recent lack of efforts by the 'Olympic Properties S.A.' has been unacceptable, but we didn't meet the challenge when we had the opportunity" (TT: Past).

The Value of Lobbying – The Association of Greek Tourism Enterprises

In the absence of good-working sectoral partnerships, tourism associations opt to draw the government's attention to their internal agendas. They are invited to participate in institutionalised consultation bodies of a strategic nature or in committees before the introduction of new legislation. Whether or not such institutions enable coordination is a matter of further exploration. Yet, leading associations understand the value of solidarity and have been gradually incorporated into the 'Association of Greek Tourism Enterprises' (AGTE), through which they are integrating lobbying activities. Despite a small number of assertions that the AGTE emerged as an elite club of powerful hoteliers, tourism actors appreciate what the AGTE has achieved since 1991 in tourism policy either by *"strengthening our voice and producing more reliable statistics than those of the GNTA and the Statistical Service"* (TT: Iste) or because of *"its capacity to speak directly with tourism public agencies"* (TT Raps). Additional interviewees shed more light into the capacity of the AGTE to exert political influence and put forward innovative proposals:

"The AGTE gets credit for the establishment of the MINTD. When the current prime minister was leading the opposition, we had explained to him in a series of meetings how essential would be to establish the MINTD with a minister of great personality in order to confront more powerful ministries" (TT: Mako).

"After years of pressure by the AGTE⁶⁰, the current government decided to increase funds for tourism promotion and assume the preparation of the SMPGT" (TT: Tima).

"The AGTE puts forward proposals only when enough research has been done and not in order to impress but to contribute something tangible" (TT: Lopo).

⁶⁰ According also to documentary sources, the AGTE pushed the new government to decide the preparation of the SMPGT by inviting a team of consultants from Barcelona to present a proposal in its annual conference at the end of 2004. This presentation was later enriched by the proposals of the AGTE (2004a; also THR, 2004), but no progress was recorded for two years before the Spaniards and two companies of Greek marketing consultants assumed the preparation of the SMPGT.

The central position of the AGTE among tourism associations has secured it a position in the board of directors of the ATEDC, albeit the previously documented scepticism. Crucially, the integration of national actors into the AGTE and the strong regional presence of the AAHA promote them as the most influential tourism associations.

Traders Associations and Lobbying Practices for the Upgrade of City Centres

Traders associations keep a secondary yet close eye in the proceedings of tourism development. The traders of Athens acknowledge that tourism is vital for local economy and ask for measures that will promote sustainable tourism development around the historic and central business districts. Likewise, the traders of Piraeus are aware of the advantages of Athens, but believe that Piraeus can capitalize on its own resources to attract tourists and cruise passengers to spend time in the city and strengthen commerce. Above all, they are confident that the upgrade of certain facilities can lead to the regeneration of areas around the port. To see the fulfilment of sustainable urban tourism, traders associations continuously update their agendas, validate their arguments by conducting research, and lobby the government. It remains, however, debatable the extent to which these initiatives are part of strategic plans for sound urban planning and economic development, in cooperation with the public sector, or are merely responses to everyday problems that remain unsolved in the long-term.

The Private Sector's Intervention in the Management of State-Owned Property

The last category of private interest groups that could be considered institutional actors are private consortiums that engage in the management of state-owned assets⁶¹. As it is shown in Chapter Six, the two main political parties are undoubtedly in favour of this reform but proceed with intensive criticism when they are in opposition. As a result, projects evolve slowly in the face of criticism from different angles. For instance, comments vary regarding the activities of the 'Tourism Development Co' (TDC) and the 'Olympic Properties S.A.'. Tourism associations are disappointed with the slow progress of tenders and projects along the waterfront, whereas local governments together with voluntary groups adopt activist and judicial tactics in order to either prevent long-term leases or gain specific benefits for their areas. Nevertheless, the contractors of two marinas (venues of the TDC) contended that the leases entail the flow of revenues for the state as well as the modernisation and operation of facilities that could not operate effectively under the full control of the public sector.

A similar reasoning applies in the case of the 'Athens International Airport S.A.'⁶², which, according to many interviewees, has successfully replaced the old airport since 2001. A few members of tourism associations find some of its charges extremely expensive to help the competitive position of Athens. However, the airport's corporate administration highlighted the advantages of this scheme where: *"the public sector is being helped by the*

⁶¹ This theme revolves around a key facet of modern economic history in Greece. Added to the introduction of key public agencies like the 'Telecommunications Organization' in the 'Athens Exchange' (Law 2167/1993) and the later purchase of shares by strategic investors, all Greek governments since the middle 1990s have engaged in privatizing public services. The scope of such projects was more recently extended, through the establishment of public-private partnerships, beyond the limelight of privatizations.

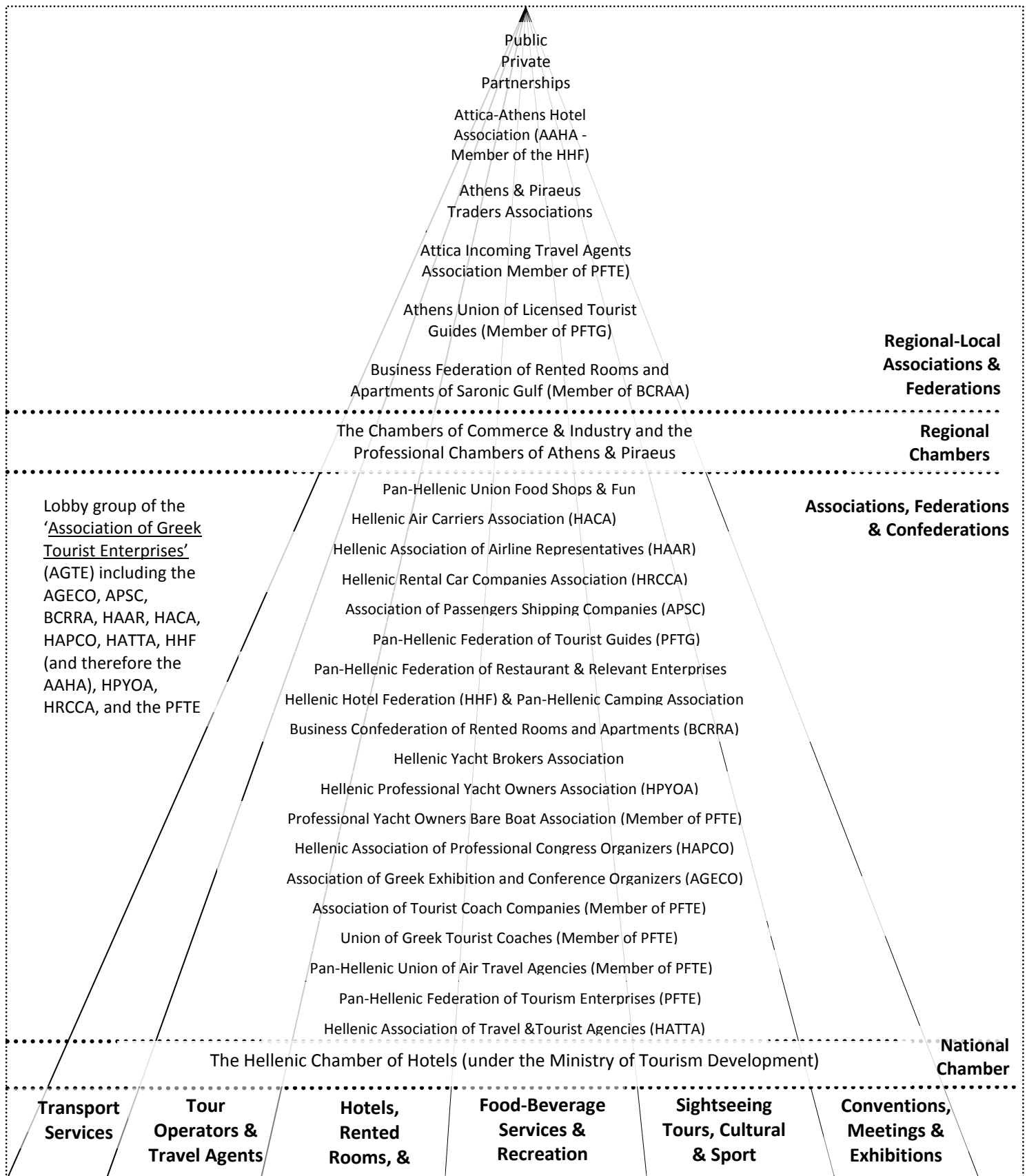
⁶² Law 2338/1995: It has been operating since 2001 through a partnership where the private consortium is responsible to build, own, operate, and finally transfer the airport to the public sector after 30 years.

private sector's know-how and management techniques, while it retains its essential participation in such a strategic asset' (TT: Noka).

The Fragmentation of Organized Private Interests

Despite limitations discussed in Chapter Four concerning the selection of private actors in the sampling framework, I identified the key groups and explained why the scattering of agencies is not an exclusive feature of the public sector. The categorization of private actors in Figure 5.10 shows that chambers and tourism associations are related to tourism in Athens, but there is not a regional lobby group equivalent to the AGTE. Given now that both the AAHA and the AGTE participate in the board of directors of the ATEDC, the next chapters examine whether this municipal agency can enhance tourism collaboration at the local and regional levels.

Figure 5.10: The Triangle of Tourism-Related Interest Groups in Athens



Sources: Adapted from Human (1994: 229) as well as from Davidson and Maitland (1997: 116)

5.5 Voluntary Groups

This research did not overlook environmental and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development, as the first round of interviews was conducted only a few months after the dramatic summer of 2007 (BBC News, 2007; Times Online, 2007). Respondents often referred to devastating wildfires. They also felt that life in Athens had become problematic, because environmental issues were neglected in political debates. Interviewees from environmental organizations and citizen groups confirmed my belief that tourism is linked with their concerns. According to these groups, the government does not embrace their environmental awareness and concerns of the social impacts of tourism development. Institutions exist to enable consultation between state and non-state actors. Yet, conservationists and citizen groups continue their manifestations, when the results of consultation do not meet their expectations or when they believe that the government consciously disregard their agendas.

Campaigns of Environmental Organizations

In tourism policy-making, environmental organizations submit proposals for the protection of natural environment and cultural heritage. Data from interviews has shown that these organizations recognise the sector's economic significance. Many of their objections, however, arise from the lack of 'adequate' tourism planning. They believe that this has caused and might also cause in the future long-standing negative effects because of the government's sole focus on generating financial revenues. Environmental organizations try to validate their arguments while addressing these issues in cooperation

with local authorities, citizens and scientific bodies. Through partnerships they also compensate for their limited financial and human resources, which do not allow them to sustain long-term campaigns or to neglect other fields and activities by allocating the total organisational resources on tourism-related projects.

Evidence suggests that resource scarcity has not discouraged environmental organizations in raising their voice. Throughout this study, I became aware of interventions, which are discussed in detail in Chapter Six. Alongside unfulfilled dreams for a more environmentally-friendly post-Olympic Athens, the coincidence of environmental disasters paved the way for a more active role on behalf of environmental organizations. During interviews, their members highlighted how the provision of quality tourism services is an integral aspect of regional planning and inextricably linked to counteracting issues such as atmospheric pollution and the lack of green spaces. Environmental organizations aim to maximize their participation in formal institutions, but are ready to undertake collaborative initiatives in order to communicate their arguments and gain public support, as the next quotes show:

“Progress may be slow, but we get motivation to expand activities and increase our influence. People start understanding the repercussions of environmental degradation, and ecological movements emerge more often. Partnership is the best means to strengthen lobbying, as state officials declare their desire to work with us but finally prefer to avoid dialogue. Recently, we issued with nine other environmental groups a press release about the spatial planning of tourism” (VG: Nous).

“We have lately intensified efforts to counter the proposed spatial planning of tourism by informing the public, collecting signatures, launching a relevant website, establishing alliances with non-governmental organizations, and participating in conventions with scientific and environmental organizations. Simultaneously, our organization supports citizen movements around the historic centre against the further commodification of traditional neighborhoods and archaeological sites” (VG: Rigs).

Activist Movements

According to interviewees, the emergence of citizen groups dates back to mid 1990s with tourism-related movements thriving along the waterfront and around the historic centre of Athens. Their emergence is associated with the existence of a small nucleus of well-educated people (and possibly but not exclusively of left-wing political orientation), who opt to oppose the commercialisation and long-term leasing of public spaces and facilities to the private sector. Occasionally, grass-roots local groups have surfaced to promote environmental and social agendas, with individuals following eco-driven careers as MPs, municipal councillors, vice-mayors and mayors, as the next interviewee explains:

“Our group stood by the mayor, because he was willing to get the municipal park from the TDC and appealed to the COS against their project to privatize the local marina. He also established a directorate environmental protection of with me as the vice-mayor after his re-election. (...) The problems began, however, when the mayor did not equip the new directorate with powers and resources. I resigned after two years because the contribution was pointless” (VG: Mpek).

Flexibility is essential for the endurance of citizen groups. Political involvement may elicit the private sector’s criticism or individuals may struggle to maintain their membership after disappointing developments. Thus, citizen groups emphasize that political involvement requires delicate handling. The priority is to keep the spirit alive and not radically expand the initial agenda. Special treatment on the improvement of each group’s internal operation and the continuation of activism is considered vital by heads of movements. Opportunities to help and learn from others surface whenever a group offers moral support to another group or when several citizen groups participate in coordinating committees. In fact, these movements have often been a headache for public-private partnerships, as the following interviewee illustrates:

“When the fight was at its peak, we had 120 permanent members. Now we are only 40 but whenever something happens people are gathering quickly. (...) People get easily disappointed. We tried hard to convince some of them that when you lose a battle you don’t necessarily lose the war, and that when you win a battle you must continue being careful. In order not to lose members we minimized confusion on the agenda. This group is against the policy of the TDC and its plans for the local marina, but is not generally against neo-liberalism, privatizations, the government party, the opposition, the mayor, or whoever else” (VG: Kist).

In discussing with interviewees the evolution of citizen movements, it was suggested improved coordination has gradually allowed these groups to intensify activism, influence local politics, and institutionalise influential legislation through their appeals to and the decisions of the Council of State, which indirectly affects tourism development.

The Influence of the Council of State

Due to several references during the fieldwork phase of research, this study considered the indirect intervention of the COS. Being the supreme administrative court as well as an administrative body, the council delivers judgements when the annulment of an administrative act is pursued. It also assists the administration through the formulation of presidential (regulative) decrees ⁶³. It is through these powers and the frequent denunciation of spatial planning cases by individuals and groups that the COS has assumed a distinctive role in interpreting the notion of sustainable development and the legitimacy of various development projects. However, views vary on the council’s approaches. For local governments, environmental organizations, and citizen groups, the COS represents an occasional and eccentric friend because: *“it gets in the way of acts and statutes, which are not sufficiently validated and don’t follow the underlying principles of*

⁶³ Normally, the administration is obliged to conform to the COS’s advice. The COS may approve a relevant writ of annulment submitted later on, unless the administration abides by the council’s consultative response.

the constitution, sustainable development, and of the European Green Book” (VG: Lamp).

The business world is unhappy, however, with the COS and its disagreement is summarized by the senior consultant of the ‘Institute of Tourism Research and Forecasts’:

“In the name of an extreme interpretation of sustainable development and environmental protection along with a nearly hostile perception about economic science and the market since the early 1990s, the ‘COS’ has blocked or delayed numerous public and private projects with severe costs. (...) It must be questioned whether this aggressive tactic complies with the council’s judicial power or crosses the thresholds of legislative and executive powers” (VG: Rapa).

Beyond contrasting arguments about the council’s intervention, the point to retain is that environmental and social issues seem to influence tourism development in Athens. Within this context, the COS not only symbolizes indirect social intervention and the lack of consensus over the tourism development agenda. It also illustrates the importance of whether the existing institutional arrangements work to bridge gaps, build up consensus, and enhance coordination.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter described the actors of tourism development in Athens through the analysis of data from both interviews and documents. The evidence presented in this chapter has highlighted the centralised nature of tourism policy decision-making in Greece and the fragmentation of tourism policy issues between tourism public and several other government agencies. It also demonstrated that the dispersal of powers and agencies is not confined to the national level. Instead, it expands to Attica and embraces agencies under ministries with national or regional jurisdictions as well as a plethora of local governments.

Concerns about coordination also surfaced during the analysis of documents and interviews. Challenges were identified in relationships between the MINTD and the GNTD, the MINTD and other government agencies, voluntary groups and government agencies, and even between tourism associations of related professional sectors. These concerns cannot be played down by this study, especially when considering the lack of partnerships at the regional level. Yet, the recent emergence of the 'Athens Tourism and Economic Development Agency' has shown potential for an improved approach to tourism development and collaboration in the capital city of Greece through the establishment of a destination management organisation. Next chapters further examine the nature and delivery of tourism policy at the national and regional-local levels. They also consider the attempts of non-state actors to promote their own agendas by requesting improvements in tourism policy delivery, exercising political pressure, and even opposing the government's plans every time they feel that economic, environmental, and social aspects of tourism development are invariably overlooked.

Chapter Six: Policies and Institutional Arrangements Shaping Tourism Development in Athens

6.1 Introduction

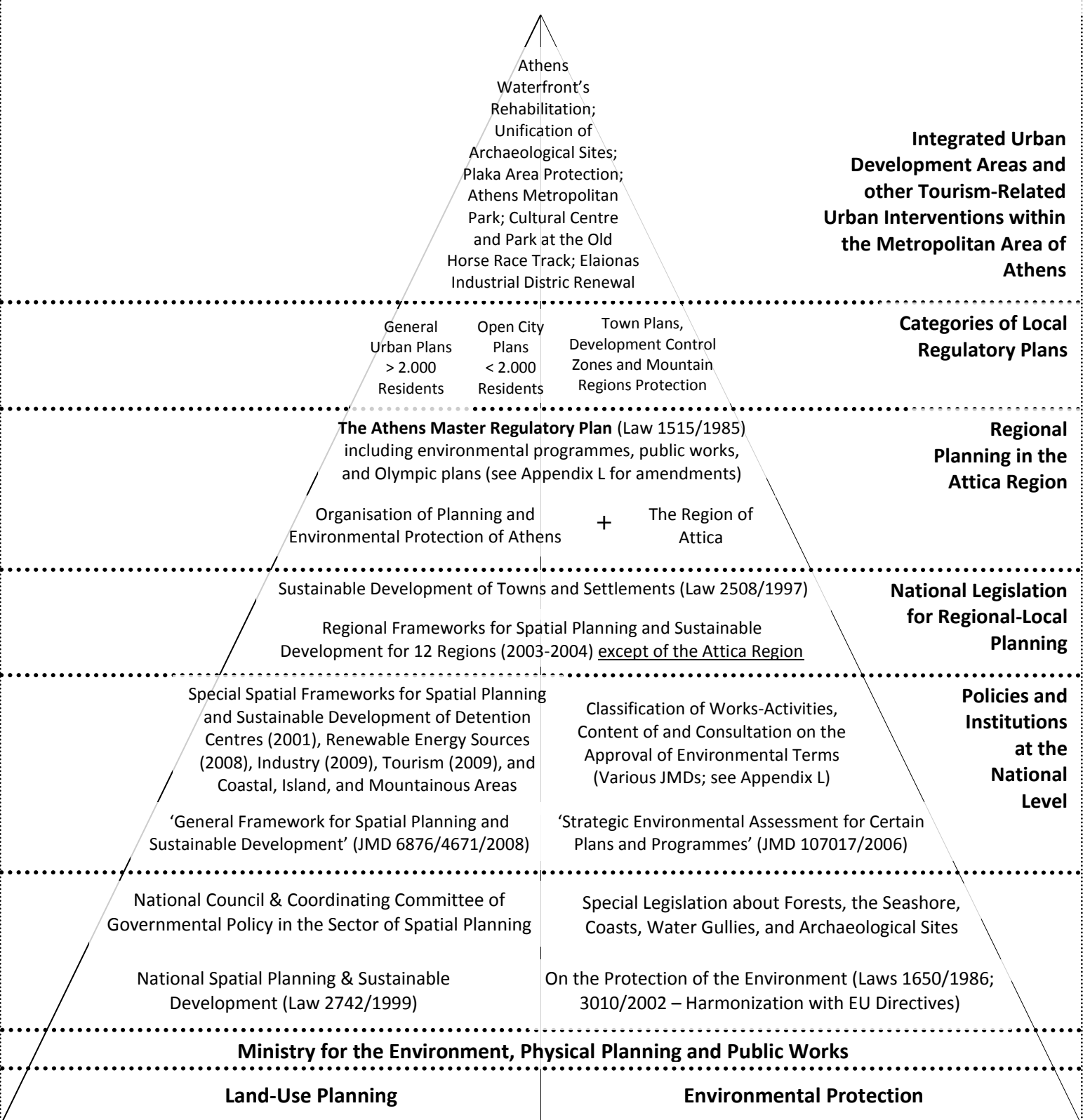
This chapter continues the presentation of research findings by describing how policies and institutions have shaped tourism development in Athens. It builds on the findings about actors discussed in Chapter Five and draws on the analysis of documents and interviews. Interview quotes are presented with the following coding system (CG: Central Government Agencies; RL: Regional-Local Governments; TT: Tourism-Traders Associations and Key Private Actors; VG: Voluntary Groups and other Individuals). The outline of the policy-institutional context also ensues from supporting evidence from four types of statutes {Laws, Ministerial Decisions (M.D), Joint Ministerial Decisions (J.M.D), and Presidential Decrees (P.D)}, which can be traced in the list of legislation references.

Although Chapter Five touched upon issues from a broad range of policy areas, the first two parts of this chapter concentrate on the policy areas of land-use planning and tourism product development. The formation and evolution of structures in terms of policies, institutions and working relationships are explored along with the competence to enhance collaboration. The selected policy areas comprise suggestive examples of challenges surrounding processes of tourism policy and planning. The last part of this chapter uses additional evidence from the policy areas of tourism marketing and management to enable a systematic overview of the policy-institutional context shaping tourism development in Athens across policy areas and levels of administration.

6.2 Land-Use Planning for Tourism Development

The evidence from documents and interviews suggests that the centralised nature of land-use planning in Greece impinges on regional planning and tourism-related plans in the wider area of Athens. Figure 6.1 puts forward a simplified version of the contemporary institutional framework on land-use planning and environmental protection, as it has evolved during the last two decades under the influence of EU environmental directives and perceptions of sustainable development. This figure shows how regional-urban planning in Athens depends on institutions, which are initially formed at the national and then expand across the regional and local planning levels. Accordingly, the ‘Ministry for the Environment, Physical Planning, and Public Works’ (MINENV) is responsible for preparing, approving, monitoring, and adjusting regional and local planning. In Athens, these tasks are particularly delivered by the ‘Organisation of Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens’ (OPEPA), under the MINENV, and the ‘Region of Attica’.

Figure 6.1: The Institutional Triangle of Land-Use Planning and Environmental Protection Shaping Tourism-Related Projects in Athens



Source: Based on a detailed presentation of legislation in Appendix L;
Figure adapted from Human (1994: 229) as well as from Davidson and Maitland (1997: 116)

Particularities of Regional Planning in the Capital City

The importance of Athens as a capital city had been recognized before the state established hierarchical relationships between land-use planning levels and official consultations with non-state actors in the late 1990s (Laws 2508/1997; 2742/1999). In 1985, Attica was the first region to receive planning guidance through the ratification of the ‘Athens Master Regulatory Plan’ (AMRP). Its goals and amendments have dictated since then infrastructure development and provisions for environmental protection. Interviewees from government agencies and two planning professors praised the plan’s positive foundations and some notable urban interventions. Yet, the AMRP was criticized by the private sector for limited attention to tourism and inefficient monitoring mechanisms. Additionally, local governments criticise an uneven distribution of powers. With regional planning and key urban interventions primarily under the control of central government agencies, mayors and prefects were critical about the central administration’s aversion to upgrading their limited advisory role in decision-making and providing them with strategic powers.

Through a synthesis of contrasting views from all interest groups, conflicts between institutional levels seem to hamper regional planning and tourism development in Athens. The same conflicts seem to exacerbate communication difficulties due to a perceived imbalance between prospects for economic benefits and concerns of adverse impacts. Although interpretations of this imbalance vary among actors, it is a common recognition that environmental changes and recent economic challenges call for better coordination between planning levels. This is the case as long as the legislative framework remains

problematic with disputes on land-uses and unsettled appeals to the ‘Council of State’. Although these long-term issues increase anticipation of a revised edition of the AMRP⁶⁴, the position of Athens in land-use planning cannot be understood merely through a meticulous exploration of plans and statutes. Crucial issues to address are the actors’ commitment to work together and form consensus along with their capacity, or even will, to implement legislation. Before examining land-use planning in Athens, however, it is vital to see how the MINENV communicates with other actors upon national planning.

Land-Use Planning at the National Level and its Relation to Tourism Development

The fieldwork stage of the research coincided with the publication of first drafts in summer 2007 of the ‘Special Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development of Tourism’ (SFSPSDT) and the ‘General Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development’ (GFSPSD). Hence, I investigated the actors’ perceptions during the period of the official public consultation, although minutes of proceedings were not disseminated to the public. Frameworks were revised both before and after their analysis in the ‘National Council for Spatial Planning’ (NCSP), the official consultative body for spatial planning, through the consideration of members’ proposals and their submission to the leadership of the MINENV. The GFSPSD finally became law of the state in 2008 (JMD 6876/4671), while the SFSPSDT was ratified in June 2009 (JMD 24208). The minister claimed this was a very significant reform in the Greek state’s modern history (MINENV, 2008). Moreover, social actors initially saw this process as a promise for extensive public consultation that would enable consensus building.

⁶⁴ Policy-makers intend to substitute the ‘Regional Framework for Attica’ with the AMRP. The aim is to minimize institutional confusion and customise the principles of the newly ratified national planning frameworks at the regional level.

By including representatives from local governments as well as from the private and the voluntary sectors⁶⁵, the reorganization of the NCSP was promoted as a milestone towards improved dialogue. Tourism actors in Athens especially welcomed the two plans. While the GFSPSD identifies the potential of Athens as a prominent tourism destination, the SFSPSDT amplifies the GFSPSD's principles. As a text of guidelines, rules, and criteria for the spatial structure of tourism activities, the SFSPSDT "*suggests measures that will reorganize the capital city's tourism product*" (VG: Rige) (see Figures 6.2 and 6.3). More specifically, it classifies Athens as an area rich in transportation, convention, marine, cultural, sport, and special tourism infrastructure.

⁶⁵ e.g. the 'Central Union of Municipalities and Communities', the 'Union of Prefectural Administrations', the 'Technical Chamber', the 'Federation of Enterprises', the 'Economic and Social Council', the 'General Confederation of Labour', the 'Chamber of Hotels' (COH), and environmental organizations.

**Figure 6.2: Tourism Policy Guidelines According to the
Classification of Athens within the Special Framework for
Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development of Tourism (JMD 24208/2009)**

The Wider Area of Athens as a Developed Tourism Area	The Wider Area of Athens as a Metropolitan Tourism Area
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancement and promotion of elements of identity and recognisability. • Improvement of urban entrances and signposting. • Measures for the clearance and improvement of tourism routes as well as of areas where points of tourist interest are concentrated. • Increase of the capacity of areas with simultaneous protection and rehabilitation of the natural environment and landscapes. • Enhancement of the built environment through urban interventions. • Construction of new and improvement of existing technical, environmental and socio-cultural infrastructures. • Improvement of existing accommodation establishments and, as the case may be, construction of new accommodation establishments of four and five stars in areas where it is permitted and encouraged the development of tourism activities. • Provision of incentives for the modernization of special tourism infrastructure. • Re-utilisation of precious buildings. • Orientation of private investments towards types and categories of accommodation establishments and special tourism infrastructures which enrich and differentiate the tourism product. • Measures for the circulation and protection of pedestrians. • Development, monitoring, and evaluation of local programmes for the improvement of tourism-related services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speed-up of interventions in the historic centre and the waterfront of Athens. • Protection, enhancement and coordinated promotion of resources beyond the urban core. • Provision of incentives for the removal of old buildings which hurt the city's image. • Strengthening of public transportation. • Strengthening of cultural activities and events. • Continuation and intensification of the unification of archaeological sites. • Creation of zones for alternative activities, parks, recreation, and sports. • Interventions in areas of an industrial interest which are close to urban tourism areas.

[illegible]

Conflicts over National Planning

Despite initially promising signs, the spirit of consensus faded away and gave its place to serious conflicts. Initially, tourism associations greeted the preparation of planning frameworks as a constructive step towards the rationalization of tourism public policy. Concerns for the quality of intra-governmental cooperation, in the face of “*a noticeable lack of even indicative quantitative targets, timetables, and budgets*” (TT: Lopo), did not discourage the AGTE from corroborating its intention to back public consultations. However, the situation was aggravated. The Council of Hotels, the ‘Greek Planners Association’, the ‘Technical Chamber’, and environmental organizations accused the government of promoting an outdated and environmentally unfriendly model of economic development. Potential negative impacts, due to a possible construction boom of Spanish-style summer houses in sensitive areas, overshadowed the SFSPSDT (Economist, 2008; The Independent, 2008). Athens was finally excluded from these provisions, but chaos prevailed when social actors rejected the outcome of consultations in the NCSP. Despite its initial support, the AGTE was also reluctant to endorse the completion and outcome of consultations, even when provisions for tourism villas were considerably reduced. The AGTE’s complaints were explicitly towards the leadership of the MINENV, whose decision not to meet with the business world was perceived to be a sign of “*why so many turned against them*” (TT: Lopo). Additional areas of tension varied from the poor representation of Pireaus, which “*will apparently continue being the poor relative of Athens*” (TT: Diko), to narrow approaches in developing alternative forms of tourism and resolving environmental issues. This criticism was based on perceptions of distrust like the following one:

“The MINENV doesn’t publicize the initial studies, because the consultants suggested decisive measures against anarchic growth in both urban and out-of-plan areas in contrast to what has been presented” (VG: Nous).

Social actors also challenged the public sector’s capacity to deliver national planning. Poor inter-ministerial collaboration was noted: *“there is no connection between those frameworks and the policies of the Ministry of Economy”* (TT: Doxr), while *“national frameworks will be useless without the organization of competent structures that will regulate regional and local plans”* (VG: Lamp). Such challenges were not merely related to the public sector’s perceived lack of competent personnel and monitoring mechanisms. National frameworks predetermine the philosophy of regional planning, but complications arise because environmental awareness is subjective. Whereas conservationists argue that environmental protection must be the ultimate target, those groups with most to gain from tourism regard the natural and built environment as valuable assets capable of strengthening the sector’s competitiveness.

My discussion with the director of spatial planning in the MINENV confirmed challenges in the capacity of the MINENV: *“a very few people tirelessly worked to prepare these frameworks and the minister knows that the improvement of human and technical resources is top priority”* (CG: Rona). During the same discussion, the mentality of collaboration was heavily criticised in a country in which *“you start accusing whoever available when only one of your requests is not accepted”*. Furthermore, polarization of views was detected between the MINENV and social actors: the *“ruthless war against the minister was premised on strong links between conservationists and opposition parties”*, while *“hoteliers wanted to discuss in private as they see the state as the best means of protecting their business position”* (CG: Rona).

The Problematic Contribution of Formal Consultation

Within this conflicting environment, the examination of official institutional arrangements provides insight into the nature of relationships. Inter-ministerial cooperation during the preparation of national planning frameworks included meetings between working teams from the MINENV and the MINTD. Nevertheless, questions surfaced about the nature of this partnership. State officials put forward various objections as “*nobody came to ask for the opinions of experienced executives in the GNTD*” (CG: Kara); “*the respective directorate of spatial planning in the MINTD was only recently organized*” (CG: Kara); and “*the MINENV was eager to pass the law as quickly as possible*” (CG: Siko).

Besides intra-governmental cooperation, social actors either sent comments to or participated in the NCSP. Both these procedures failed, however, to avoid criticism. Three interviewees never received replies to their letters, and there was no consultation during the preparation of draft frameworks and the development of initial studies. Hence, social actors felt they could not “*participate in the formulation of strategic targets and see in what points the government’s intentions differ from the proposals of consultants*” (TT: Doxr). Consultations in the NCSP were not held between 2004 and 2007. Environmental organizations claimed this fact violated legislation, and argued “*later discussions were confined to an ex-post passive model instead of ex-ante and on-going dynamic procedures*” (VG: Rigs). At the same time, for the director of spatial planning in the MINENV most protests should be attributed to political speculation. In his eyes, the public consultation followed a logical pattern: “*The NCSP did not meet before 2007 because there was nothing to discuss. Public consultation cannot be based on general thoughts and chitchatting*” (CG: Rona).

Conflicts overshadowed the completion of proceedings in the NCSP. For the MINENV, it was the result of healthy consultations in which particular groups failed to manipulate proceedings. For the private and voluntary sectors, it was a golden opportunity to raise their voices against the government's ambitions. It was also seen as a chance of strengthening networking at the outset of new battles. Interest groups were aware of the strictly advisory role of the NCSP, regardless of the level of consensus. The output of consultations in the NCSP were examined by the 'Coordinating Committee of Governmental Policy in Spatial Planning', which is responsible for finalising and approving national frameworks, while parliamentary vote was compulsory only for the ratification of the GFSPSD. Social actors could not overcome this institutional reality, but intensified their mobilisation by collecting signatures, publicizing mutual press releases, and organizing Internet campaigns and one-day conferences.

The Influence of the Political Context and the Lack of Adequate Mechanisms

The political context and disputes between major political parties played their own part in the escalation of tension and overshadowed technical issues. As long as the government was promoting these frameworks as a pioneering reform (MINECO, 2005b; MINENV, 2008), the socialists and other left-wing parties supported the objections of the business and voluntary sectors. It was, however, the socialist leader's statement that his party would repeal the SFPSSDT when it came to power (Eleftherotipia, 2009a) that allowed the MINENV to bounce back and accuse him of lack of respect for the laws. As a result, modifications incorporated in final texts were interpreted as either the MINENV's flexibility to discuss and accept proposals or its retreat in the face of social mobilisation.

It also appears that little thought was given to whether controversies might continue during next consultations and how these frameworks could be improved in the future. The JMD 6876/4671/2008 stipulates that qualitative and quantitative indicators for the monitoring of the GFSPSD must be prepared by the MINENV within six months. Yet, no indicators had been announced one year after its ratification. As a possible future study should examine what challenges the socialists will meet in trying to replace the SFPSSDT and revise the AMRP, it is currently important to explore how the existing AMRP has affected tourism development in Athens over time.

Land Use Planning at the Regional Level – Athens Master Regulatory Plan

The AMRP is the key land-use planning instrument within Attica. It has prescribed for more than twenty years the regional distribution of economic and social activities, thus providing directions for local regulatory plans and setting priorities for public works, environmental protection, and regeneration projects. As outlined in Chapter Three (Box 3.2), the ‘AMRP’ (Figure 6.4) was initiated as a response to significant political and societal changes that the Greek state and the wider area of Athens experienced in post-war decades, in an attempt “*to convey spatial policies, targets, and guidelines in conjunction with interventions of strategic importance*” (Gerardi, 2007: 249). Despite several amendments to secondary aspects, central targets, as they are listed in Figure 6.5, are to be updated after twenty-five years. Yet, the nature of these targets relates to tourism development in the late 1980s and throughout 1990s. They shed light on why Athens recorded a prolonged decline in tourism overnights as opposed to the positive growth recorded in the whole of Greece (see Appendix M).

Tourism Development and the Athens Master Regulatory Plan

To understand the position of tourism in the AMRP, a delicate approach is required to understanding the absence of direct references to tourism among the AMRP targets in Figure 6.5. Two urban planning professors suggested this does not indicate that planners at that time underestimated the sector's value. According to one of the professors, "*Athens used to be a key place both for those who wanted to admire the Parthenon and those whose final destinations were other resorts*" (VG: Rige). Interviewees from the MINTD and the GNTD also noted that while tourism planning in Athens in mid 1980s had turned its attention to significant environmental and financial challenges, the redirection of the focus on tourism development towards remote and poor areas was a politically deliberate decision. Consequently, tourism in the AMRP can be indirectly traced to targets related to recreation, environmental protection, and the upgrade of cultural heritage. These targets enabled several urban interventions mainly after the mid 1990s (see Figure 6.6). According to the urban planning professors, the further deterioration of the capital city's tourism product was a consequence of the lack of a recovery plan along with political instability in the late 1980s and early 1990s, lack of funds, and organizational deficiencies in the OPEPA.

Figure 6.4: The Athens Master Regulatory Plan Including the Olympic Amendments (Law 2730/1999)

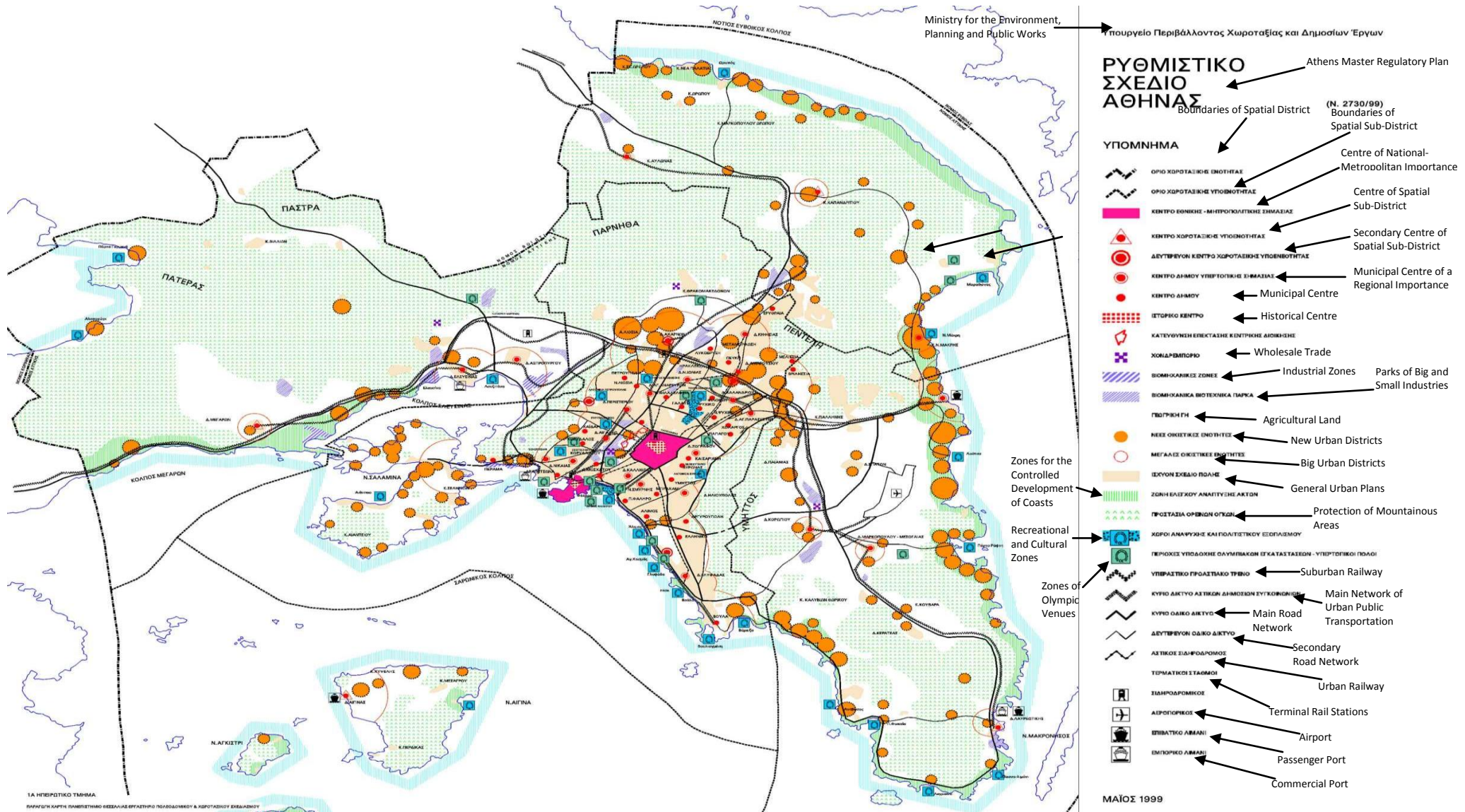
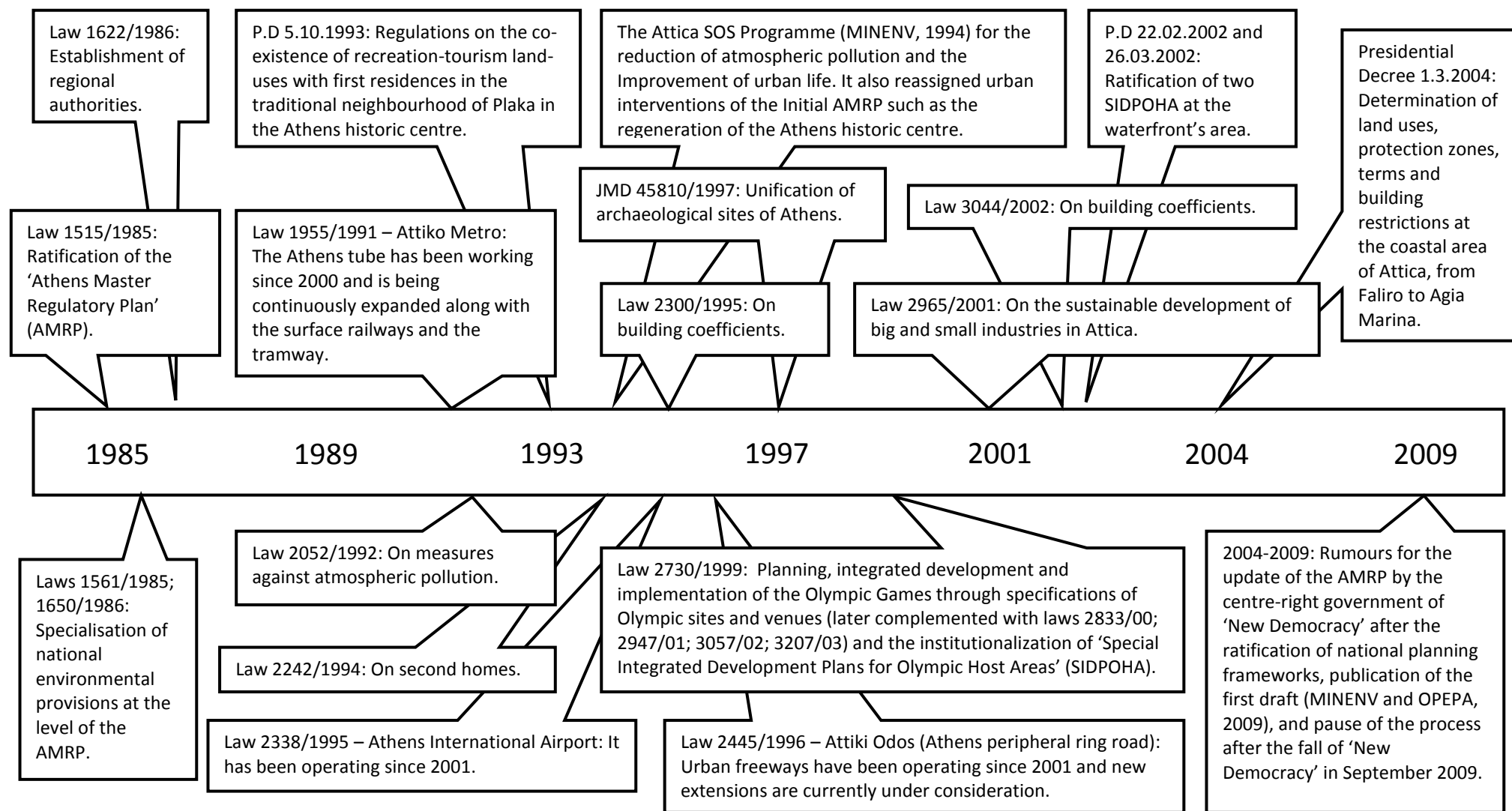


Figure 6.5: Targets of the Athens Master Regulatory Plan (Law 1515/1985)

General Targets		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Promotion of the historic character of the wider area of Athens and upgrade of the central area. ➤ Protection of the natural environment and improvement of life quality in the capital city. ➤ Equalization of social inequalities among different areas. ➤ Increase of opportunities for housing, work, and recreation in each area in the capital city. ➤ Qualitative upgrade of each neighbourhood. 		
Special Targets Related to the National Level	Special Targets and Guidelines Related to the Wider Area of Athens*	Special Targets and Guidelines Related to the Spatial Organization and Structure of the Wider Area of Athens*
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stabilization of the population and prospects for future reduction. • Containment of the growth of economic activities and re - orientation of investments to the other regions. • Promotion as the administrative centre of main governance functions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upgrade and promotion of historic elements, physical landscape, mountainous areas, and coasts. • Ecological restructuring and reduction of environmental pollution. • Economic restructuring. • Improvement of urban operations and transportation. • Amelioration of inequalities in the distribution of social services. • Planning of urban development. • Protection against natural disasters. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consideration of the wider area of Athens as a self-sufficient spatial division divided into spatial sub-divisions. • Reorganization of urban space through the city's containment of expansion, the city's refining, the establishment of a multi-centre urban structure, the control of land-uses and densities, the reorganization of neighbourhoods, and the renewal of the Athens and Piraeus city centres. • Redistribution of basic uses and operations. • Organization of and integrated system of urban transportation. • Quality spatial intervention of a large scale.
<p>* Law 1622/1986 officially established the 'Region of Attica' along with the other 12 regional administrations of Greece</p>		

Figure 6.6: Legislation and Priorities of Regional Planning in Athens – Amendments of the Athens Master

Regulatory Plan and Special Urban Interventions under its Auspices (1985-2009)



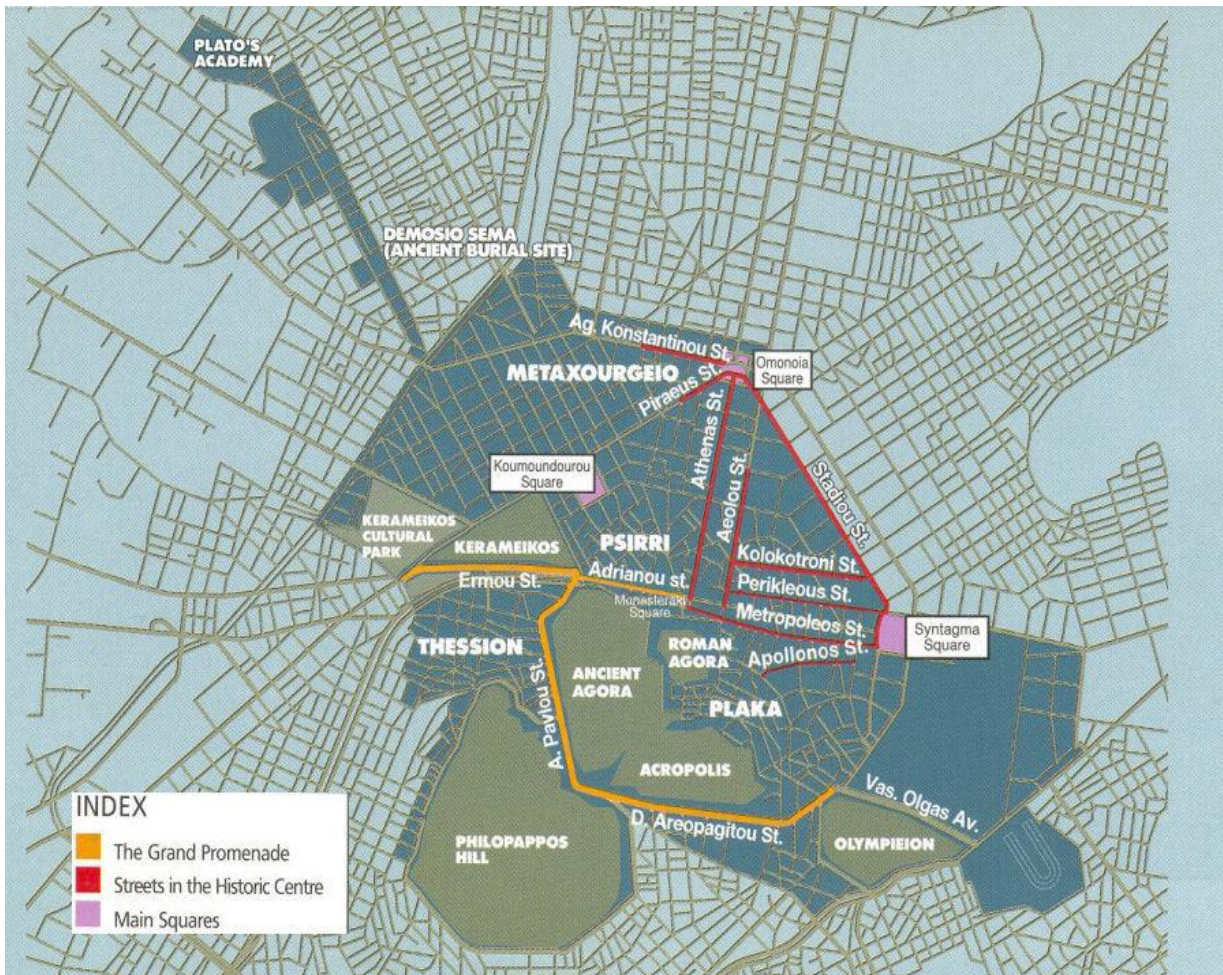
A reading of legislation confirms that regional planning until the middle 1990s dealt mainly with transportation infrastructure and environmental provisions. One notable exception was Law 2052/92. This law enriched provisions for recreation and cultural nodes of metropolitan importance along the waterfront in order to remedy early-uncontrolled development. For urban planning professors and citizen groups, that was a promising idea. It was argued that the waterfront had for decades been suffering of various irregularities (e.g. the excessive expansion of nightlife activities) and land speculation. These conditions had not been improved “*due to political inertia and the lack of strategic guidelines on land uses, although particular sites were expropriated by the state in order to become organized beaches, hotels, marinas, and recreation facilities*” (VG: Lamp). Yet, no substantial progress on tourism-related projects and the waterfront’s reorganization was recorded until after the successful Olympic bid in 1997.

The Olympic Coincidence and Urban Interventions

The Olympic bid benefited Athens environmentally, but the city experienced governance challenges throughout the course of urban interventions. Interviewees from all interest groups corroborated my belief that tasks like enhancing archaeological sites and remodelling streets and squares, which are still carried out by the ‘Unification of Athens Archaeological Sites S.A.’ (Figure 6.7), have created an open-air museum in the core of the historic-commercial centre. It was also suggested, however, that the dispersal of powers obstructs the discovery of solutions for problems, such as parking facilities for tourist buses, which are still bewildering both residents and entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the socialists’ decision to assemble the bulk of

Olympic venues particularly along the Athens waterfront (Figure 6.8) generated a series of statutes aiming to arrange public works and determine land uses and building terms. Zifou *et al.* (2007) note that without established collaboration mechanisms, the state assumed Olympic planning through an inter-ministerial committee, which worked closely with the bid committee but not so closely with local communities. Local officials and citizen groups, which considered the lack of adequate pro-Olympic planning an essential cause for conflicts after 2004, verified the viewpoint of non-systematic and superficial consultations.

Figure 6.7: The Unification of Athens Archaeological Sites



Source: Unification of Athens Archaeological Sites S.A (2007)

Figure 6.8: Olympic Venues in Attica



Source: <http://www.abc.net.au/olympics/2004/img/map.gif>

Pro-Olympic Planning and Sources of Tension

Tension mounted during the place-making process of Olympic Athens because of gaps between the government's priorities and the desires of local groups. By initiating the Olympic countdown, Law 2730/1999 reflected aspirations that Athens would advance its international position. This law envisaged the vision of modern infrastructures, which would rehabilitate the waterfront. The specifications of Olympic sites as recreation, sport, and cultural nodes were inevitable to deviate from the terms of regulatory local plans. Occasionally, they also substituted for other projects, for instance, the government's commitment in 1999 to create a metropolitan park at the site of the old airport waned when it was decided the construction of the Helliniko Olympic Complex (Wassenhoven, 2008). An example of how urban interventions can result in delays and provoke local frustration, as no progress had been documented about the park until the end of 2007. The key issue covers,

however, the government's capacity to influence local planning. As well as amending the AMRP through the specifications of Olympic sites and venues, Law 2730/1999 pro-actively introduced a sophisticated instrument, the 'Special Integrated Development Plans for Olympic Host Areas' (SIDPOHA), to supersede the regulatory provisions of local plans and enable the planning and management of Olympic nodes. Two SIDPOHA were prepared, while another presidential decree determined land uses and building terms along the waterfront (Figure 6.9)⁶⁶. Chapter Seven adds more details in the waterfront's blurry picture after 2004. It also shows that the ratification of laws does not necessarily entail their full implementation, especially when there is a considerable deal of conflicting perceptions and a lack of collaboration.

Figure 6.9: Presidential Decrees for the Development of the Waterfront

<p>Presidential Decree 22.02.2002: Approval of a special integrated development plan at the area of the Olympic sailing centre of Agios Kosmas in the Municipality of Helliniko.</p>	<p>Presidential Decree 22.03.2002: Approval of a special integrated development plan at the area of Olympic establishments for Beach Volley and other Sports, and Recreation of the Faliro Bay Area across the municipalities of Moschato, Kallithea, and Palaio Faliro.</p>	<p>Presidential Decree 1.3.2004: Determination of land uses, protection zones, terms and building restrictions at the coastal area of Attica, from Faliro to Agia Marina, excluding the areas of the Presidential Decrees 22.02.2002 and 22.03.2002.</p>
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Delays in the Revision of the AMRP and Organisational Challenges

Several studies (APISDS, 2007; Economou, 2007; Gerardi, 2007; Wassenhoven, 2008; Petta, 2006; Zifou *et al.*, 2007) indicate that tension in regional and local planning could

⁶⁶ As presidential decrees, all these statutes were open to advisory proposals by municipalities and required the ultimate legal approval by the 'Council of State'.

have been avoided, had the government combined the specification of Olympic venues with a comprehensive revision of the AMRP. The AMRP was amended with Law 2730/1999. Nevertheless, for several interviewees, the targets of the AMRP were already outdated by the late 1990s and could not follow contemporary trends such as “*the arrival of immigrants and urban sprawl in Attica*” (CG: Apos). As the following local official underscores, the same reasoning applies in the case of key institutional developments:

“The government’s approach to leasing organized beaches and marinas to private companies under long-term contracts has curtailed public access and contravenes the philosophy of the AMRP” (RL: Gint).

Interviewees from tourism associations also revealed they were unaware of regional planning coordination. They had no participation in the council of the ‘Region of Attica’, which is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the AMRP, and in the seven-member executive committee managing the OPEPA (Laws 1515/1985; 1622/1986). Interviewees from the MINENV and the OPEPA did not also provide evidence of consultations with tourism actors in the framework of the AMRP. Unsurprisingly, thus, interviews and additional documentary sources (LUMTCA, 2008; OPEPA and NTUA, 1998) came to restate criticism of the poor operation of these institutions outlined in Chapter Three. The later discussion in Chapter Seven revisits the debate of prospects and challenges for tourism planning in the case of the waterfront of Athens. Until then, however, the next section is concerned with the institutions that shape the tourism product of Athens.

6.3 Development and Upgrade of the Tourism Product of Athens

At the heart of the tourism governance context are all those policy instruments and institutions, which have shaped over time the sort of tourism development in Athens. As outlined in Chapter Three (Box 3.2), the enhancement of tourism development in Athens is currently meeting the terms of the ‘National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013’ (NSRF), which is the determinant of policy specialization at the regional level and complies with the strategic guidelines of the renewed Lisbon strategy (Commission of the European Communities, 2005; 2007a).

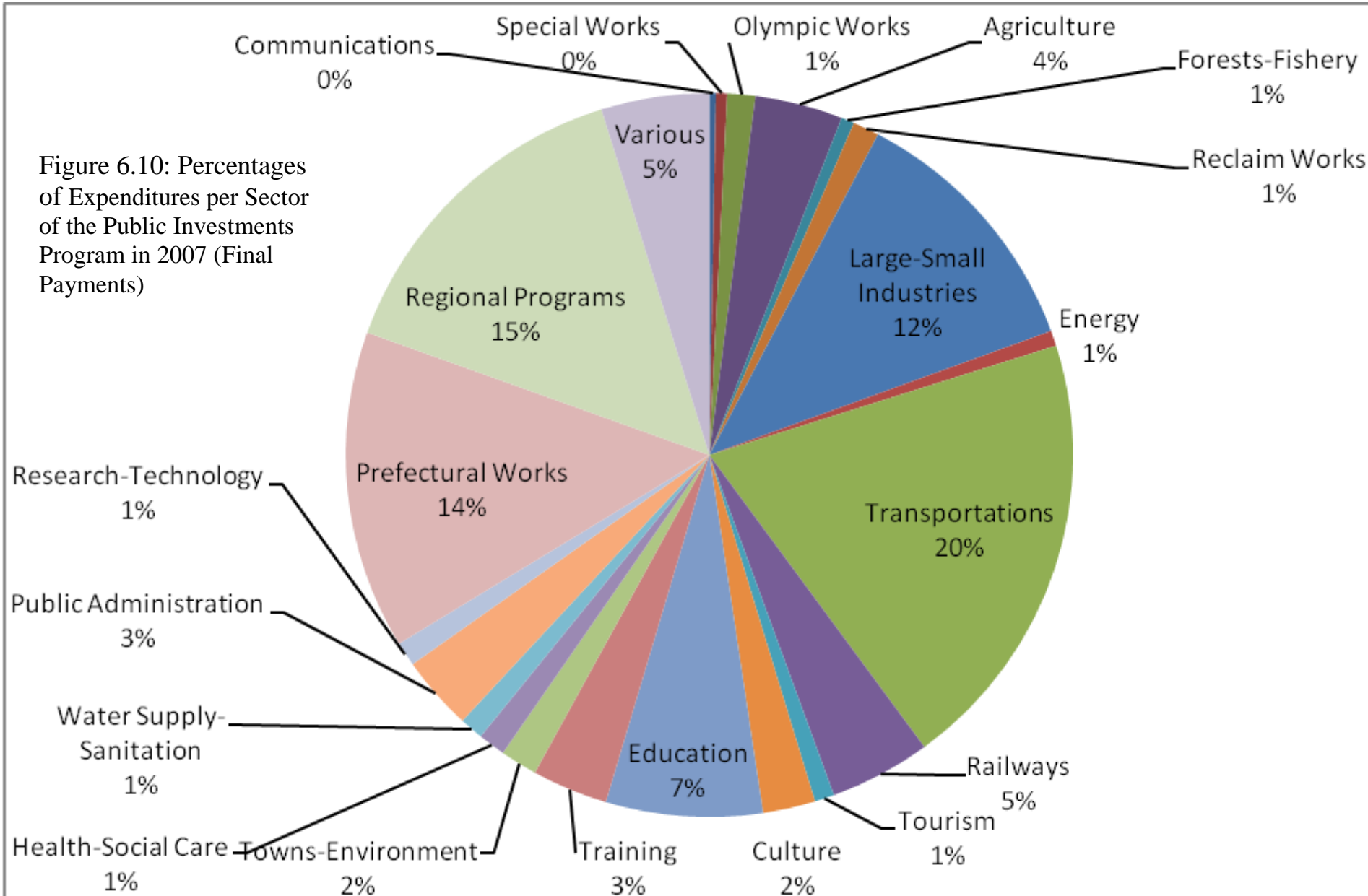
Foundations of Tourism Policy Decision-Making and Interdependence of Policy Instruments

The allocation of public funds at the national level is the first step of tourism policy decision-making. Increased interdependence between European and national policies entails that the NSRF 2007-2013, including its sectoral and regional operational programmes, is nowadays the only strategic plan of economic development. The NSRF outlines the goals and priorities whereby national resources and EU co-financing of the public investments programme are devoted to public and private projects⁶⁷. While the dedication of significant resources under co-financing projects suggests the European flavour conveyed in development policies, tourism development is also associated with policy instruments and resources dependent on national expenditures (Appendix N). The private sector believes that tourism grants, as percentage of total funds allocated in development policies, have traditionally been

⁶⁷ Law 2515/1997 (article 18)

disproportionate to the sector's economic contribution (Patsouratis and Anastasopoulos, 2006). However, relevant expenditures may be traced in alternative accounts (e.g. culture – see Figure 6.10) or even not recorded investment incentives in the form of tax exemptions. Given the European character of the NSRF and the variation of economic policy instruments (see Figure 6.11), it is crucial to explore whether consistency is achieved between national and regional policy targets, and what challenges exist in addressing a promising *“development path in the light of particular economic, social, environmental, cultural and institutional conditions”* (Commission of European Communities, 2005: 8).

Figure 6.10: Percentages of Expenditures per Sector of the Public Investments Program in 2007 (Final Payments)



Source: Based on Data from Appendix N

6.11: Policy Measures and Instruments Shaping the Development of Tourism Product in Athens

Development Laws	Law 1262/82	Laws 1892/90; 2334/94	Law 2601/98	Laws 3299/04; 3522/06	
	J.M.D 2647/86: Status of 'Areas of Controlled Tourism Development' for Attica with the biggest part of it also under the 'Saturation' status		M.D: T/4805/00; 3746/01; 7959/01; 1511/02: Gradual removal of the saturation in Attica before the Olympics	M.D: 7394/05: Abolition of saturation all over Greece	
European Regional Development Funds	Integrated Mediterranean Programmes (1986-89) ↓ Integrated Mediterranean Programme Attica	First Community Support Framework (1989-93) ↓ The 'Regional Operational Programme of Attica' (ROPA) and Sectoral Operational Programmes (SOP) for basic infrastructures; balanced tourism development; human resources	Second Community Support Framework (1994-99) ↓ The ROPA and SOP for the improvement of infrastructures (e.g. transportations- environmental- energy); culture- tourism; human resources	Third Community Support Framework (2000-06) ↓ The ROPA and SOP for competitiveness; natural environment; culture; transportation infrastructure; training; information society	National Strategic Reference Framework (2007-13) ↓ Attica is funded exclusively from the ROPA as it is not eligible for the 'Convergence Objective' (Objective 1 Previously) due to statistical seasons
Public Investments & Public-Private Partnerships (Transportation-Sport-Cultural Infrastructure)	1. Development and continuous extensions of the Athens Tube (Attiko Metro) with national and European funds since 1991 2. Construction of the 'Athens International Airport' and of the peripheral ring road (Attiki Odos) with national, European, and private funds since 1995 3. Improvements in the urban electric railway and the bus fleet since 2001 4. Construction of the tramway (linking Athens with the waterfront) and of the 'Suburban Railway' with national and European funds (2000-2002) 5. Development of Olympic venues with national funds since 2000 – management by the 'Olympic Properties S.A' after 2004 6. Museum projects (National Archaeological; Natural History; Benaki; Byzantine and Christian; National Gallery; the New Museum of Acropolis that was completed in 2009) and the 'Unification of Archaeological Sites' mainly with European funds since the middle 1990s'				
Management of the State-Owned Tourism Property	A. The state had utilised high-status public land,, expropriated private plots, and developed pioneering tourism superstructures since the late 1950s to encourage investors and expand tourism development throughout Greece. The GNT0 was the responsible management agency. Yet, after the policy's suspension in the early 1980s, many facilities and business units shut down or extended their operation in a less prestigious manner, while land plots remained undeveloped.	B. The 'Tourism Development Co' (TDC) undertook in 1998 the property's management including six organized beaches and five marinas in the prefectures of Athens and Eastern Attica, one large undeveloped land plot in the seaside of Eastern Attica, large land plots and luxurious hotels in the prefectures of Athens and Eastern Attica, which have been leased to consortiums for their development and operation, and other unique facilities and smaller plots including: seashore, rocky islets, small parks, theatres, archaeological sites, bar-restaurants, camping sites, tourism kiosks, one cave, one health spa facility and one exhibition centre (www.etasa.gr).		C. <u>Projects Completed in Athens Since 2001</u> 10-years leases of five organized beaches and transfer of their management to entrepreneurs; sell of 49% of the share capital and transfer of the management of the 'Parnitha Casino' to a Strategic investor; international tenders for three marinas: two tenders were completed in 2002, whereas the third one didn't succeed. The marinas of Zea and Flisvos were leased for forty years and the TDC participates in the established partnerships (special purpose vehicles) with a 25% equity stake.	

Sources: Based on Andrikopoulou and Kafkalas, 2006; Athens International Airport S.A., 2009; Attiki Odos S.A., 2006; European Enterprise Organisation, 2003; GNT0, 2006; 2007b; Kathimerini, 2006; Konsolas and Zacharatos, 2000; MINCUL, 2007; MINECO, 2001; 2005c; 2005d; 2007d; OPEPA and NTUA, 1998; Region of Attica, 2006; 2008; TDC, 2008; Zacharopoulos, 2006; Zifou and Serraos, 2005

The Significant but Debatable Contribution of Development Laws

Through the provision of investment incentives, in the form of tax exemptions and subsidies, development laws have played a catalytic role to developing and upgrading accommodation and supplementary tourism facilities. This credit-policy instrument endeavoured to stimulate the private sector and capitalize on tourism as a vehicle for regional development throughout the 1960s and the 1970s. Hotel capacities registered significant increases, but growth became problematic in the absence of appropriate infrastructure and criteria for the dispersal of facilities (Apostolopoulos and Sonmez, 2001; Pavlopoulos and Kouzelis, 1998; Konsolas and Zacharatos, 2000; Vlami *et al.*, 2006). Whereas the early days of tourism development had found Athens at the top of tourism overnights in Greece, environmental degradation converged with issues of financial viability. The fast growth of supply was asymmetrical to the slower growth and finally decline of tourism demand (Balfousia, 2001, Leontidou, 1997; Papanikos, 1999; 2001; Spartidis, 1989). In my discussions with officers from the MINTD and GNTD, more than once I was told about careless investors, who were “*persuaded by tour operators that Athens would become a mass tourism destination*” (CG: Mpil), although:

“Athens would not be able to compete in the long-term with the rest of Greek holiday resorts, especially after the development of regional airports. The city suffered the biggest blow after the Reagan’s travel advisory in 1985 that warned US citizens of a terrorism threat at the Athens airport” (CG: Niko).

The Introduction of Saturation as a Regulatory Measure and its Controversial Outcomes

As a response to uncontrolled tourism development all over Greece, the GNTD, the MINECO, and the MINENV (J.M.D 2647/1986) introduced strict regulatory measures.

They allowed the construction and expansion of luxury hotels and auxiliary facilities in ‘Areas of Controlled Tourism Development’, where the quality upgrade of facilities was still possible despite an intensive accumulation of facilities. They also prohibited the construction and expansion of accommodation units in areas where signs of excessive oversupply had been observed (saturated areas in the same J.M.D). With the biggest part of Attica under the status of saturation⁶⁸, tourism supply was stabilized (see Appendix O). In the following years, several hotels changed their uses or closed down in Athens (Leontidou, 1997; Spartidis, 1989; Tourism and Economy, 1998), and Development Laws 1892/1990 and 2234/1994 enabled mainly modernizations of hotels in Athens and Piraeus.

The picture of the evolution of tourism development starts blurring while linking the saturation’s perceived legitimacy and effectiveness with the earlier discussion of the targets of the AMRP. Members of tourism associations referred to a superficial approach to tourism development, as *“the saturation was evidence of the state’s incompetence to prepare and implement a serious plan of tourism zones”* (TT: Vato). Thus, the saturation was believed to have discouraged not only the arrival of international hotel chains that could have boosted the *“suffering competitive image of Athens”* (TT: Vato) but also *“potential investors from putting money on auxiliary facilities”* (TT: Baha). In this respect, *“we would wait until the late 1990s for notable investments in modern conference centres”* (TT: Past), a period which coincides with urban interventions in the framework of the AMRP. Tourism public officials did not deny the lack of an integrated plan for the recovery of tourism in Athens, especially when *“the saturation had been grounded on perceptions and political pressure rather than calculations of carrying capacity”* (CG:

⁶⁸ Only the islands of the Saronic Gulf and a very few mainland areas in Attica were exclusively declared as ‘Areas of Controlled Tourism Development’.

Mpil). It was also questioned whether incentives provided for auxiliary facilities were attractive enough for investors. Yet, the intentions behind the saturation were not challenged. The aim of saturation was argued to be “*the rehabilitation of destinations under significant pressure*” (CG: Mpil). Another senior executive added, somehow ironically, that “*hoteliers should be happy with the saturation in Athens, because it helped their survival*” (CG: Apos) by not permitting the entrance of new players.

Encouraging Developments a few years before the Olympic Games

Arguments about the past do not cancel the positive impact of pro-Olympic statutes. Statistics confirm that Law 2601/1998 contributed to the modernization of 16 percent of middle and high-class hotel beds in Attica through tax exemptions and subsidy incentives (GNT0, 2007a). The same law enabled conversions of traditional buildings into hotel units and the establishment of middle-sized conference centres. Entrepreneurs also engaged with several investments on the establishment of new middle and high-class hotels [without subsidies](#) (JMD 27783/2003), when the government gradually removed the saturation status from mainland Attica a few years before 2004 (see Figure 6.11)⁶⁹. All these provisions modernized older hotel units, provided the hotel stock of Athens with 4 and 5 star hotels, in particular within the prefecture of Athens (Appendix P), and built up hopes for a new era. In revisiting the debate of development laws, Chapter Seven challenges the idea that a strategic vision was established for tourism development in Athens after 2004. The current discussion continues, however, with the effects of European funding on tourism development.

⁶⁹ Furthermore, 3000€ per room were offered by the state for all the middle and low class hotels in Attica that would renovate their exterior appearances and modernize their rooms and common areas (Law 3057/2002).

Controversial Views on the Contribution of European Funds and Infrastructure Development

Controversy surrounds the allocation of European funds for tourism-related projects at both the national and regional levels. The introduction of operational programmes upgraded regions by establishing de-centralised regional authorities as responsible agencies for organising and distributing funds (Law 1622/86). The introduction of operational programmes stimulated tourism development as a promising path to the economic boost of lagging regions, mainly through measures aiming to enhance entrepreneurship and the support of small-medium tourism enterprises (which were not eligible for funding under development laws) (Commission of the European Communities, 1989; 1995; 2003a; 2003b; 2006; Committee of the Regions, 2006). Controversial accounts flourish, however, on the slow and ineffective use of funds due to scattered projects and institutional flaws at the country's level (AGTE, 1998a; 2000a; Athens News Agency, 2005; Balfousia, 2001; Economou, 1997; Eleftherotipia, 2009b; 2009c; Georgiou, 1994; Kathimerini, 2009a; MOD and GNTD, 1999; MINTD, 2006b; Pavlopoulos and Kouzelis, 1998; Plaskovitis, 2008; Psycharis, 2004). In respect to evidence from the two rounds of fieldwork, voices from both the public and the private sectors contended that the impact of these actions remained secondary to the needs of pre-Olympic Athens. Certified training on information-technology skills, pioneering internet initiatives, marketing programmes and integrated development plans for alternative forms of tourism were not included because: *"nobody had seriously thought how the city could have diversified its tourism product and improved the quality of services"* (CG: Dopa).

Likewise, controversy surrounds the progress of key projects. Interviewees from all interest groups confirmed the radical improvement that the cultural portfolio of Athens experienced as a result of numerous projects after the mid 1990s (see Figure 6.11). Along with frequent complaints about postponements and delays, several members of tourism associations criticized the inadequate promotion of cultural projects. One of them asserted that a discussion about their contribution would be feasible, had there been available “*an official piece of paper explaining how all these projects were supposed to help tourism in a strategic manner*” (TT: Fina). Another member of a tourism association downplayed the dimension of cultural projects because: “*Athens could not be considered a contemporary European city without a few decent museums*” (TT: Raps).

Another line of criticism pertains to infrastructure development through public-private partnerships. Based on the legacy of concessions for transportation infrastructure⁷⁰, the centre-right government set up legislation for public-private partnerships as another reform attuned to the Lisbon strategy (Law 3389/2005; MINECO, 2005b; 2006c). This statute complemented earlier legislation on privatizations (Law 3049/2002). Together, these statutes marked the desire of major political parties to reduce the state’s intervention in the economy, boost economic growth by extending the private sector’s involvement in the provision of services, and improve the utilization of state-owned property with management skills not easily attainable by the public sector. Yet, these distinct frameworks and terms are often conflated and verbalized interchangeably by left-wing parties, labour unions and politicians. This conceptual confusion can possibly be traced to the trend of 30-years or longer leases, which sealed deals on the modernization or

⁷⁰ The state co-financed and ceded to consortiums the responsibility to build, own, operate, and transfer the infrastructure back to the public sector when the contract expires.

conversion of state-owned assets. Such contracts guarantee the commercial exploitation of privileged facilities by private consortiums as well as the flow of revenues for the public sector. However, they have also caused widespread protests by citizen groups and local governments along with debates over the state's intervention in tourism development and the character of state-owned property:

“Convention centres and marinas cannot be effectively managed by the public sector, but for the sake of profitability entrepreneurs sacrifice social accessibility and environmental protection. (...) How easy is for a family of four to spend more than 50 Euros to visit an organized beach on a Saturday morning? Social discrimination is the price for the modernization of facilities, and this trend is worse here than in abroad because of political speculation” (VG: Besx).

The Influence of the Political Context

Political speculation, as a possible factor of slow progress in infrastructure modernization, is a popular idea among social actors. Voluntary groups argued that major political parties share similar perspectives on the intensive exploitation of state-owned assets by the private sector, without the active intervention of local communities, although they “*accuse each other of limited social awareness*” (VG: Nous). For the centre-right government, the high cost of maintenance together with allegations about the lack of a concrete plan on behalf of the socialists justified a policy mix of public-private partnerships after 2004. Commercial uses were introduced in Olympic venues as leverage for their post-Olympic sustainable development and social utilization (Law 3342/2005)⁷¹. Yet, no satisfactory explanations exist on why several of these venues and sites had not yielded any social value, at least by the middle of 2009, by remaining neglected (Daily Mail, 2008;

⁷¹ It seems fair to note that the creation of the ‘Olympic Properties S.A.’ (2007a; 2007b), a legal entity of private law under the MINCUL and the MINECO, had heralded since 2002 the private sector's involvement in the management of Olympic venues after 2004.

Kathimerini, 2008a; 2008b; 2009b; Ta Nea, 2008; The Guardian, 2005). As the ‘Olympic Properties S.A.’ never responded to my repeated requests for an appointment, readers can only gauge the disappointment of the following local official for the loss of regulatory powers.

“Law 3342/2005 removes from municipalities licensing powers for commercial uses inside the Olympic facilities. We have only one vote in a committee with government agencies. All facilities would have been given to entrepreneurs and the municipality would not be able to raise its voice, had we not pushed with protests and appeals. The central administration does not give us enough resources, if it also starts removing our powers there will be no reason of existence” (RL: Lido).

The private sector put forward a different interpretation of political speculation, with responsibilities transcending the realm of one political party. Three members of tourism associations exhibited their rage while considering lost opportunities due to numerous failing efforts to be constructed a metropolitan convention centre since the mid 1990s. Beside comments about poor coordination and excessive bureaucracy, accusations turned towards ministers of the same or different political parties, “*who don’t bequeath a positive legacy to their descendants in order to minimize possible delays*” (TT: Vato). It was felt a particular discomfort toward the latest leaderships of the MINENV and the MINCUL for the state of Olympic venues. According to one of these interviewees, that is a reason why the “*public prosecutor should step into the ‘Olympic Properties S.A.’*” (TT: Mako).

Further Challenges in the Management of State-Owned Property

The management of the ‘Tourism Development Co’ (TDC) portfolio has been proved another intricate venture, insofar as political speculation coincides with conflicting ideologies and national policy targets do not necessarily correspond with local aspirations.

When the socialists established the TDC, they decided to play with the rules of private economy (Law 2636/1998). They saw the private sector's intervention as a means of modernizing precious properties, diversifying the tourism product, and generating revenues for public investments in those assets whose idiosyncrasy discouraged private investments. The TDC accelerated its activities in Athens after 2001 with long-term leases of beaches and marinas (see Figure 6.11). However, political conflicts prevail at this point. No great differences can be identified between the goals of *“utilising tourism property with a long-term development character”* (centre-right Law 3270/2004) and *“administering, managing, and utilising tourism property”* (socialist Law 2837/2000). Yet, the administration of the TDC in 2008 argued that the company's operation was rationalised and became more effective from 2004 onwards, as it *“stopped being exclusively adhered to an economic evaluation of investments and speculative practices”* (CG: Siko). According to this perspective, *“old projects can be considered new because they are now following higher standards”* (CG: Siko). The angry response of a socialist MP reflects gaps between political positions:

“They maintained the profit-making character of the «sinful» TDC, as they used to call it. They now celebrate the completion of projects, which had been initiated by the ‘Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement’, whereas for the same tenders they were accusing us of selling off the public property” (VG: Kore).

As opposed to political parties, problems in the operation of the TDC are perceived to be path-dependent and still-alive by tourism associations. Their explanations for delays in the progress of tenders are grounded on the core of inflexible intra-governmental relationships: *“The TDC is supposed to be under the MINTD, but key projects require the approval of the inter-ministerial committee of privatizations under the MINECO which would never grant independence to tourism public property”* (TT: Past).

Discussions with interviewees from the waterfront revealed that delays in the utilisation of tourism public property from 2001 onwards were also the result of manifestations and appeals to the 'Council of State'. Leasing contracts often did not meet the expectations of local communities and gave birth to resistance movements, which nowadays maintain a network of citizen groups, environmental organizations, and municipal authorities. This is a sign of how the centralised nature of policy-making for local issues may struggle with its own nature. For instance, *"the TDC doesn't aim to serve the public interest, for the sake of which precious land plots had been expropriated in the past, but to allocate the public property to entrepreneurs and get a share from their profits"* (VG: Nofk). According to this conservationist, the state should maintain these properties as future assets or devote them to welfare purposes, had it changed its mind on the purpose of their expropriation since the 1950-60s. However, it is deemed unacceptable for the state to grant any of these properties to the private sector *"without an exhaustive dialogue with local communities and appropriate regional and local planning"* (VG: Nofk).

Interdependence of Institutional Arrangements for Tourism Development

The discussion so far has examined the lack of strategic tourism planning and consensus. The evidence has shown that interdependencies expand beyond tourism policies and cover various institutional arrangements. Policy instruments hold the key for the integration of tourism development with the objectives of cohesion policy. However, policy delivery relies on the effectiveness and efficiency of vertical and horizontal relationships, in a situation where the different levels of public administration, the private sector, and voluntary groups interact among themselves and with each other (Commission of the

European Communities, 2001; 2003c). Greece is recommended “*to modernise public administration and reinforce its regulatory, control and enforcement capacities*” (Commission of the European Communities, 2007b: 10). Continuous efforts for good governance occupy a central position among the Commission’s guidelines and consist of enhancing the public administration’s efficiency, transparency, and accountability as well as building a strong knowledge-based civil society. The notion of tourism governance incorporates consultations both before and during the implementation of policies as well as structures and forums, which institute a working-together culture between the state and civil society (Commission of the European Communities, 2001).

Intra-governmental Relations

Greece incorporated governance practices in preparation of the ‘NSRF 2007-2013’ (MINECO, 2006d). Consultations took place between the responsible MINECO and other state and non-state actors upon strategic guidelines and implications for each policy sector (MINTD 2006a). Yet, horizontal intra-governmental coordination remains a key issue at stake. Interviewees from the MINTD and the GNTD downplayed the capacity of their organizations to shape decisively the multifaceted context of tourism policy. For instance:

“We count on each minister’s personality and contacts in order to overcome the drawbacks of co-responsibilities, but with changes taking place so often in the leadership you can never be sure of what to expect. Inter-ministerial coordination will continue being the target, as I cannot see how other ministries will delegate significant powers to the MINTD” (CG: Dopa).

Since tourism development in Athens is shaped by policies and institutions mainly established at the national level, the tourism public administration has to deal with the

plans and aspirations of other government agencies along with internal challenges in relationships between the MINTD and the GNTO. Civil servants argue that the MINTD is struggling to communicate its agenda because of “*a lack of understanding about modern trends and competition as well as a simplistic mentality that people will always visit Greece because of the sea, sand, and sun*” among ministries (CG: Niko). Challenges seem to exacerbate in intra-governmental relationships, especially in the absence of “*competent institutions at the regional and local levels*” (CG: Noto). Such institutions could communicate policy challenges, customize the principles of national tourism policy at sub-national levels, and encourage partnerships. Simultaneously, concerns for co-responsibilities can be justified. Besides ad-hoc committees for inter-ministerial consultations on real-time issues, Figure 6.12 shows there are also institutionalised committees in which the MINTD is a regular or occasional member.

Figure 6.12: Inter-Ministerial Committees with the Participation of the Ministry of Tourism Development

Committee for Tourism under the Prime-Minister (Prime Ministerial Decision Y315/2003)	Coordinating Committee in the Sector of Spatial Planning under the MINENV (Law 2742/1999)	Committee for European Community Programmes under the MINECO (Law 3483/2006)	Committee for Public-Private Partnerships under the MINECO (Law 3389/2005)	Committee for Privatizations under the MINECO (Law 3049/2002)
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Examples of good and bad practice vary, but there is a perceived lack of confidence on the efficacy of inter-ministerial relationships. Due to unresolved institutional misconducts, poor intra-governmental coordination was frequently cited as a cause of the lack of progress. Critiques relate to inefficient relationships between the tourism public administration and the regions, which resulted to “*overlapping activities between the sectoral and the regional operational programmes during the period 2000-2006*” (CG: Kara); the lack of communication between the MINTD, the GNTO, and the MINCUL,

which are believed not to “*have never ever sat down together to investigate complaints for the operation of archaeological sites and museums*” (TT: Raps); and the public sector’s mentality as the following interviewee highlighted:

“It is frightening only to think how long it takes for an employee to remove from his drawer the official letter you had sent him for an urgent issue, or even worse, to communicate it to another ministry” (TT: Raps).

Inter-Organizational and Intergovernmental Relations

Cautious views on intra-governmental relationships must be kept in mind, as perceptions of distrust cast a cloud of acrimony over relationships between the tourism public administration, tourism associations, and local governments. Channels of communication exist through either the assistance of tourism associations in ad-hoc committees for specific issues or direct contacts with the leaderships of the MINTD and GNTD. It appears, however, that these contacts are not grounded on strategic partnerships. As the following quotations exemplify, tendencies exacerbate when each group of actors accuses the other of the non-improvement of relationships.

“The last thing I want to hear is that the private sector does not participate in decision-making. Tourism associations often impose their will and opinions through personal contacts and political pressure” (CG: Noto).

“The conferences of associations produce innovative ideas. Yet, when you start working with the same people in committees, you ascertain their only care is the maximization of financial benefits within the shortest term and with the minimum possible cost. Dialogue for them means to force their opinions. Communication is difficult because some associations are governed by old entrepreneurs, who understand tourism as it used to be in 1980s and 1990s” (CG: Kara).

“There is a new generation of executives in the MINTD who are skilled but miss out on market experience and have not escaped from the mentality of civil servants.

Roles must be clearly distinguished and transparency is necessary, but we don't need an iron curtain in between us. They don't comprehend that before attempting to organize the demanding tourism market, they must first grasp the mood. I know them very well after all these years, so whenever I want to sort out an issue I am developing personal relationships and fawning on them in order to prick their conscience" (TT: Fina).

When inter-organizational relationships and inter-personal contacts exhaust their capacity to yield outcomes, tourism associations turn their attention to the leadership of tourism public administration, albeit with dubious results.

"If you persuade the minister after a series of meetings for the sound and urgent of your demand, you may see some progress as long as no changes occur. Otherwise, you will have to start all over again" (TT: Vato).

"Relationships are assessed on results rather than on ritualism. After years of contacts with general secretaries and ministers, we often feel the GNTO and now the MINTD are not aware of the sector's problems" (TT: Past).

Despite certain expressions of frustration, it is understood that the tourism public administration and the tourism industry question the nature but not the necessity of collaboration. The roots of problematic relationships became clearer when interviews focused on official consultation bodies between the government, the private sector and local governments (see Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13: Institutionalised Consultation Bodies between State and non-State Actors

The 'National Board of Tourism' (NBT) under the MINTD including the GNTO, the TDC, the 'Union of Prefectural Administrations', the 'Central Union of Municipalities and Communities', Tourism Associations, and Political Parties (Laws 2601/1998; 3270/2004; 3498/2006)	Committees on the NSRF, Operational Programmes, and Development Laws (laws 2860/2000; 3299/2004; 3614/2007), e.g. the monitoring committee of the 'Regional Operational Programme for Attica' with the participation of the AAHA (MD 14424/01; 5258/08)	National Council for Competitiveness under the 'Ministry of Development' including the MINTD, the COH, and the AGTE among various ministries, chambers, and professional associations (Law 3279/2004)	Intergovernmental Committee under the MINTD including the 'Union of Prefectural Administrations', the 'Central Union of Municipalities and Communities', as well as Specific Prefects and Mayors (Law 3270/2004)
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These bodies can be seen as the inter-organizational and intergovernmental equivalents of inter-ministerial committees with a strategic orientation. Political leaderships have long argued that such bodies substantiate the will of each government to collaborate with civil society. Yet, this is the point where viewpoints on the failure of strategic partnerships coincided. Despite his alleged personal friendship with the minister of tourism, one mayor stated that he had never heard of the consultation committee between the MINTD and local governments. He actually commented: *“It may be one of the things you often hear in the public sector. To establish one more committee is the best way to improve public relations without doing anything at the end”* (RL: Ropo).

Nonetheless, the strongest comments concerned the unsatisfactory operation of the ‘National Board of Tourism’ (NBT). Duties of the NBT are the formation of frameworks for long-term effective tourism policy and the planning of tourism development in accordance with strategic goals (Law 2601/1998). One interviewee felt that his tourism association *“doesn’t have good enough contacts in order to participate in the NBT”* (TT: Tima). Another interviewee identified as a Greek paradox the fact that *“our association was excluded, while other associations with a related professional subject to ours were invited to participate”* (TT: Past). Furthermore, other interviewees heavily criticized the NBT:

“It is a pretext for saying that some kind of cooperation exists. Discussions are disjointed, unfocused, and without commitments or objectives in order to be able to reflect on something specific the next time it will meet” (TT: Basi).

“It is a wreck for serious people, unless you fancy admiring how work-shy civil servants listen to ministerial announcements and politicians spend the money of tax payers” (TT: Lopo).

Given that the last meeting of the NBT was in the middle of 2007 and the board itself had not met again until the end of 2010, it may not be an ill-founded assumption that its operation depends on each minister's discretion. The weak contribution of consultation bodies at the national and regional levels reflects the atmosphere in Attica, where such initiatives do not thrive with the exception of committees for the ROPA. Institutional dialogue, monitoring and assessment seem to be more easily feasible under the Commission's eye. Yet, the ROPA is only one among several policy instruments. At the end of this section, more evidence is available about the problematic coordination of the complex policy-institutional context shaping tourism development in Athens.

6.4 The Nature of Policies and Institutional Arrangements Shaping Tourism Development in Athens

The last section of this chapter integrates previously discussed empirical themes, and draws the governance context of tourism development in Athens. Such an aggregate overview of tourism policy areas and instruments examines how working relationships span across levels of administration and contribute to the formation of policies and institutional arrangements. In terms of its policy context, tourism governance incorporates an agenda of regional and local policy issues along with interrelationships through which national policy aspirations shape tourism development in Athens. It is, however, the nature and volume of interrelationships in the institutional context of tourism governance that indicate the centralised nature of tourism policy and planning in Greece alongside the peculiar position of Athens as the country's capital city, most dynamic region, and most distinguishing urban tourism destination.

Policies Shaping Tourism Development at the National, Regional, and Local Levels

According to evidence from documents and interviews, tourism development in Athens originates in either the specialisation of national policy instruments, which tend to favour and discourage tourism development across different regions, or the institutional compliance of regional plans and activities with national guidelines and legislation. The policy issues discussed in this chapter demonstrate how tourism policy overlaps with urban planning, economic development, culture, and other policy areas.

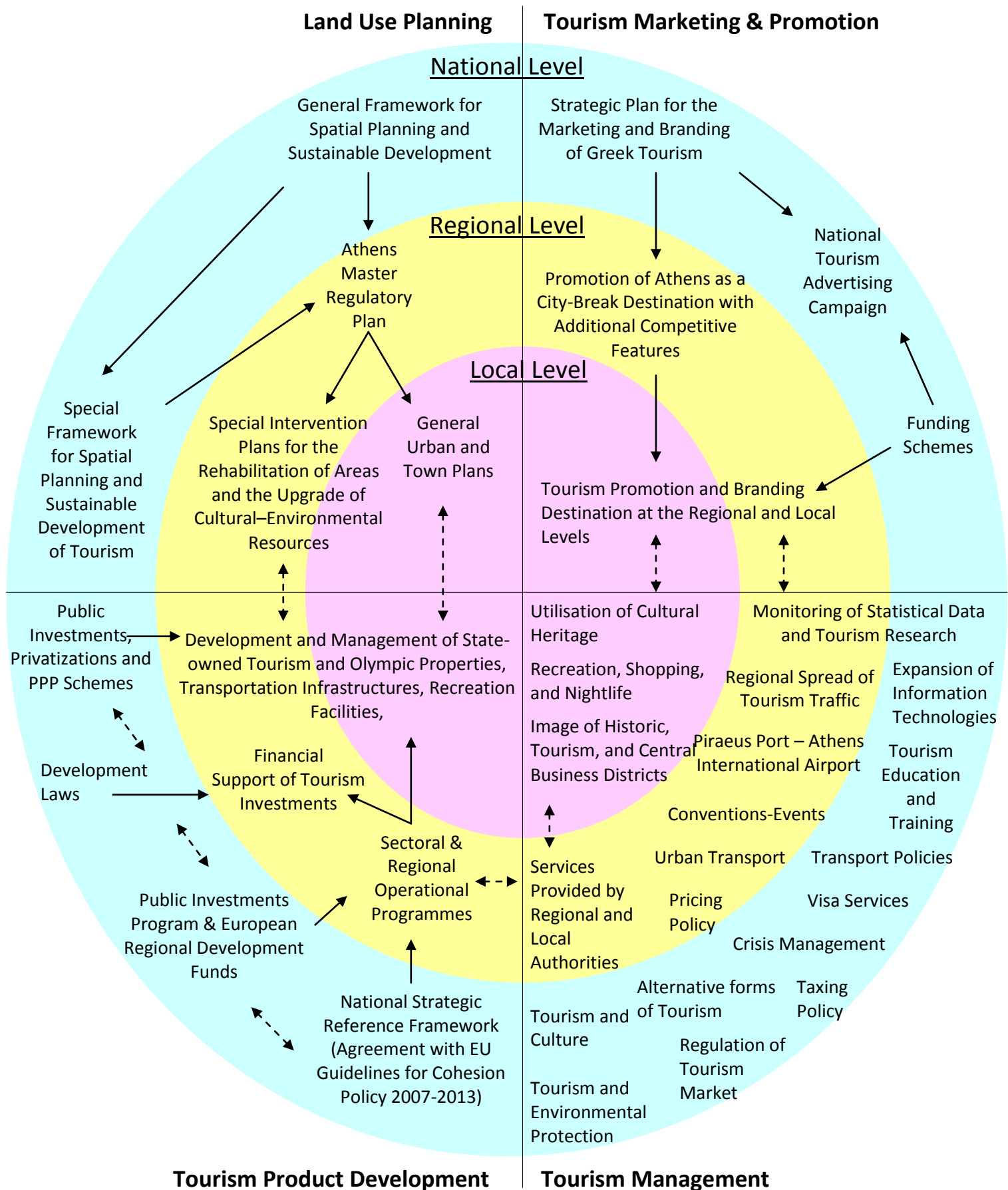
When legislation determines such interrelationships, tourism development at the regional level emerges from hierarchical policy frameworks. These frameworks are supposed to assess in a systematic manner whether tourism development fits well within wider policy areas and national policy guidelines. Following the ratifications of national planning frameworks, future tourism development in Athens will be incorporated within the forthcoming update of the 'Athens Master Regulatory Plan' (AMRP). The AMRP will reflect the vision of the 'General Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development' for the capital city and deliver the specialized guidelines of the 'Special Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development of Tourism'. Likewise, as discussed in Chapter Five, regional tourism promotion must comply with national principles and rely to a certain extent on funding schemes formed at the national level. The effectiveness of such frameworks has not been extensively tested. Regional tourism promotion is a trend recently emerged in Athens according to evidence from documentary sources and interviews. Likewise, the AMRP was operating independently for more than 20 years with debatable results. Moreover, it was explicitly questioned the capacity of central government agencies to undertake quality preparatory work and set in motion adequate mechanisms, before looking forward to fruitful policy implementation, improved coordination, and long-term monitoring.

When interrelationships between institutional levels and policy areas bank on more flexible instruments and connect sectoral policies, policy coherence has been exhibited in terms of national targets but not necessarily in terms of a vision for tourism development in Athens and policy implementation. The enactment of Law 1663/1986 did not convey such a vision as a strictly regulatory measure, but was compatible with the goals of protecting areas under pressure and spreading tourism throughout less developed regions.

Before 2004, the abolition of saturation enabled the enrichment and upgrade of the hotel stock of Athens. Nevertheless, it was combined only with high expectations rather than strategic objectives about the future trends of tourism traffic. Similar challenges surface when the long-term leases of tourism public property focus on the delivery of national economic targets, without paying attention to the desires and aspirations of local communities.

Successful, less successful and unsuccessful practices in tourism policy-making and implementation were explored during this chapter. Yet little evidence suggests the integration under a common umbrella of the broad variation of policy instruments shaping tourism development in Athens. In addition, the plethora of hierarchical and sectoral interrelationships, respectively depicted by straight and dual-headed dotted arrows in Figure 6.14, renders necessary a respective outline of the institutional arrangements shaping tourism development in Athens as a key dimension of tourism policy and planning processes.

Figure 6.14: Policies Shaping Tourism Development in Athens



Institutional Arrangements Shaping Tourism Development at the National, Regional, and Local Levels

Scrutinizing interactions between levels of administration and policy areas, evidence from this case study has enabled an integration of vertical and horizontal interrelationships within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus. Such an outline of the institutional context of tourism development does not mean to neglect internal aspects in the birth, evolution, and even dissolution of individual institutions. Through the integration of different kinds of regularised practices in tourism policy-making and implementation, the relational-evolutionary perspective on institutions demarcates the boundaries and elements of tourism governance. Principally, it is required the researcher's work to collecting information on institutions and identifying their right positions within the wider context. It takes only to add actors' perceptions to start studying the key characteristics of tourism policy and planning. The actors' perceptions are also essential sources of information for substantiating whether all these interactions enable coordination.

The analysis of institutional arrangements has led to the identification of two different perspectives, which together with policies presented in Figure 6.15 constitute the governance context of tourism development in Athens. These perspectives shed light on the co-existence of regularised practices and relationships that transcend the boundaries of state apparatus. As such, institutional arrangements whose origin and evolution depend on the official operation of the state apparatus are distinguished from those ensuing from working relationships among/between state and non-state actors. Relationships in the latter case reflect efforts to be influenced the centralised nature of policy decision-making.

Classification of Institutional Arrangements: Statutory Perspective

The first perspective on tourism institutional arrangements focuses on practices and relationships, which indicate the catalytic role of central government agencies and the secondary role of local governments. The statutory perspective basically incorporates all the official institutions and processes whereby the government sets the rules and decides how the various actors are supposed to act and get involved with the delivery of tourism policy and planning. Including the total of powers and interrelationships established by legislation along with official bodies, whose role is to facilitate consultations between state and non-state actors, the statutory perspective covers horizontal intra- and vertical intergovernmental as well as inter-organizational relationships. The patterns of these ‘formal’ arrangements regulate tourism policy formulation and implementation between levels of administration. They involve ministries as well as non-departmental public bodies and corporations under ministries, with national and regional jurisdictions even exclusively within the wider area of Athens. That is a good sign of the central position the capital city holds within the government’s policy agenda, especially due to the often discovered overlaps of tourism-related powers between central government agencies and local authorities. According to these observations, Figure 6.15 presents the types of institutional arrangements incorporated into the statutory perspective.

Figure 6.15: Institutional Arrangements Shaping Tourism Development – Statutory Perspective

Duties and statutory powers over the planning and implementation of tourism policy, distributed among the tourism public agencies, other ministries, and various non-departmental public bodies: Challenges concern organizational structures and the overlap of functions between the MINTD and the GNTD as well as the dispersal and overlap of tourism-related powers among central government agencies.	Intra-governmental relationships between the tourism public agencies and other government agencies: Challenges concern the coordination between the MINTD and the GNTD as well as between these two organisations and the rest of government agencies.	Duties and statutory powers shaping the involvement of regional and local governments in tourism policy as well as the nature of vertical intergovernmental relationships: Challenges concern the secondary contribution of local governments, weak coordination, and conflicts over the utilisation of state-owned property and large-scale local projects. Emphasis is given to debates for the evolution of the role of the ATEDC and for the establishment of a metropolitan structure.	Consultation bodies between state agencies and social actors such as the ‘National Council for Spatial Planning’ and the ‘National Board of Tourism’: Emphasis is placed on the non-systematic operation of these bodies and the lack of a regional forum enabling the dialogue for tourism development within the wider area of Athens.	Partnerships between the public and the private sectors: Emphasis is given to the slow progress in the utilisation of state-owned property and the negative perceptions of local authorities and communities about these projects.
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Classification of Institutional Arrangements: Policy Network Perspective

The second perspective focuses on the tendency of both state and non-state actors to develop relationships and make up alliances in order to promote their agendas and improve communication. Policy networks are identified here as those types of more or less formal sets of inter-organizational relationships through which actors respond to the practices of the official tourism policy-institutional context. Regardless of whether they aim to support or oppose the particular context, they look forward to potential partners as a means of facing together everyday issues, achieving common targets, and strengthening their individual positions within the same context.

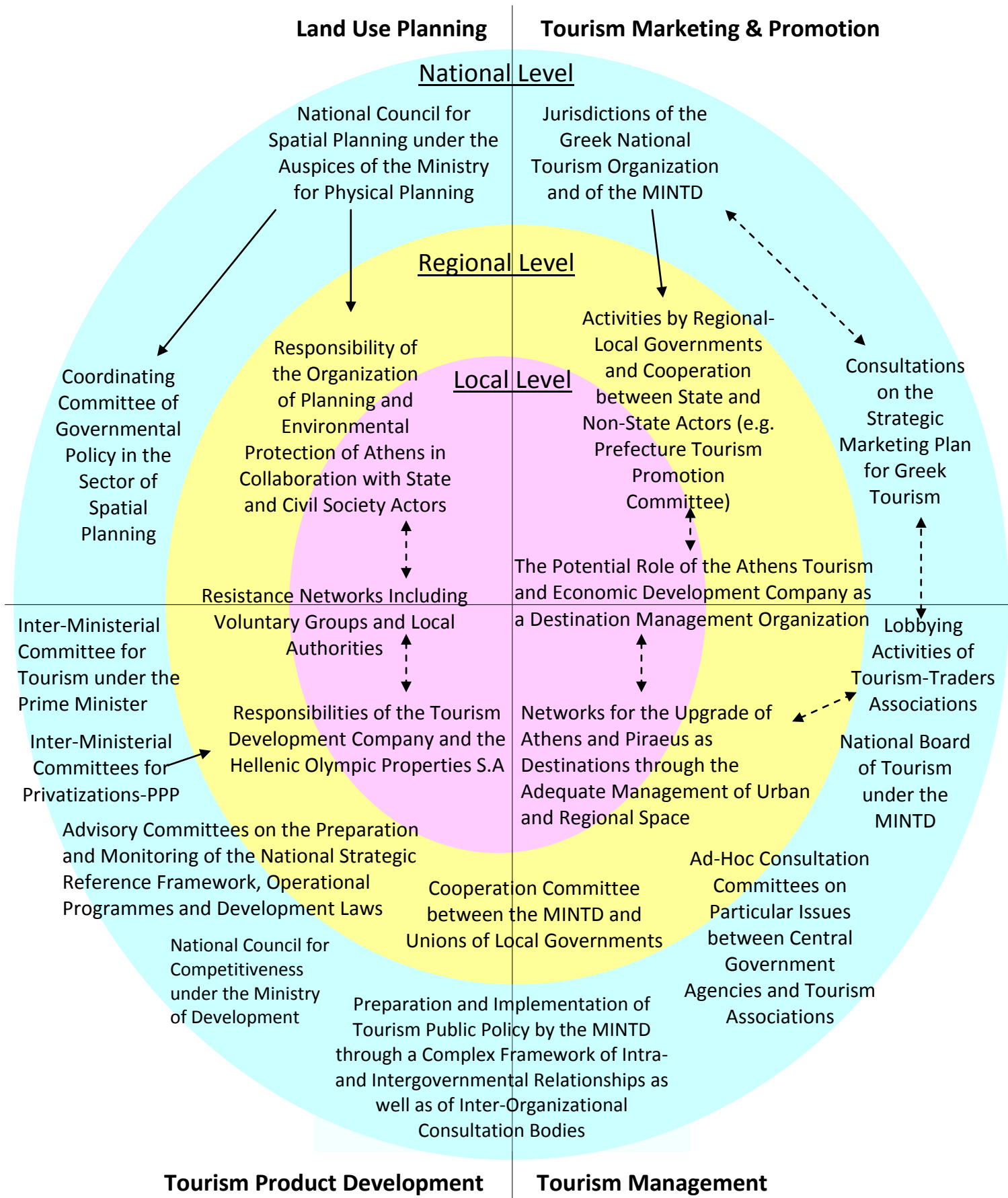
Case study evidence has demonstrated that local governments and non-state actors are very much dependent on the ‘official’ will and actions of central government agencies. They count on inter-organizational relationships to influence the central government’s

plans and decisions. This observation is critical in understanding the governance of tourism development in Athens. Not only does the official policy-institutional context operate as the underlying cause of the creation of policy networks, but also constitutes the ultimate goal of their existence and evolution. Hence, policy networks are regarded as complementary institutions to the officially established statutory practices and relationships, and are studied in parallel with them, albeit from a different perspective. Figure 6.16 summarizes the types of relationships that this case study has identified according to the policy network perspective. Finally, Figure 6.17 illustrates the integration of statutory relationships and policy networks along with their hierarchical and sectoral interactions, respectively depicted by straight and dual-headed dotted arrows.

Figure 6.16: Institutional Arrangements Shaping Tourism Development – Policy Network Perspective

<p>Inter-organizational relationships between tourism public agencies and tourism associations: Ad-hoc inter-organizational and inter-personal contacts for the discussion of pending issues and the discovery of solutions, especially in the absence of a rigorous consultation body.</p>	<p>Relationships between tourism associations: Considerations about the disparity and fragmentation in the representation of business interests, the lack of a chamber for tourism enterprises, and the strictly advisory role of tourism association in the absence collaborative initiatives. Emphasis is given to the key role of the AGTE as the lobby group of tourism associations and to the active presence of the AAHA in Athens.</p>	<p>Relationships between local governments and tourism-traders associations aiming to enhance economic and tourism development: Fragile networks between the municipalities of Athens and Piraeus and the private sector. Emphasis is placed on the potential building of partnerships between the ATEDC and the private sector.</p>	<p>Networks aiming to environmental protection and the preservation of the public character in state-owned properties including local authorities, environmental organizations, members of the scientific community, and citizen groups: Emphasis is placed on networks against the SFSPSDT at the national level and the government's plans concerning large-scale projects and the utilisation of state-owned property along the waterfront of Athens.</p>
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Figure 6.17: Institutional Arrangements Shaping Tourism Development in Athens



6.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out the policy-institutional context shaping tourism development in Athens. It also investigated the centralised nature of tourism policy-making in Greece and its controversial effects in land-use planning and the development of tourism product at the regional level. According to evidence from documentary sources and interviews, the complex policy-institutional context of tourism governance in Athens faces challenges that transcend the boundaries of the central state apparatus. Such challenges vary from the controversial operation of the tourism public administration and problematic intra-governmental coordination, which in general circumscribe the delivery of tourism public policy, to ineffective relationships between the central administration and regional-local governments which attract criticism from non-state actors. It appears that the lack of strategic planning for tourism development, the unsatisfactory operation of institutionalised consultation bodies, and occasionally political disputes are not independent manifestations of the policy-institutional in question. Rather, the same manifestations exacerbate repercussions of conflicting ideas upon the evaluation of tourism impacts and of conflicting aspirations over tourism policy targets between levels of administration.

By examining the evolution of tourism policy and institutional configurations along with the perceptions of actors about the same themes, this chapter outlined the governance context of tourism development in Athens. Actually, it identified the types of relevant policies and institutions and exemplified why in the case of the capital city of Greece the practices of tourism-related policy networks are very much dependent on the nature of

statutory institutions. Chapter Seven further explores the recent prospects, perceptions, and events shaping tourism development in Athens. The first goal is to explore whether the actors of tourism development have been able to tackle challenges in tourism policy and planning in light of great expectations after 2004. The second goal is to verify whether substantial grounds have recently emerged to found and foster a strategic vision for tourism development. At the end of Chapter Seven, data will be fully available for an interpretive critique of tourism governance in Athens, in Chapter Eight, through the conceptual framework of the 'Strategic-Relational Approach'.

Chapter Seven: Perceptions about Recent Trends in Tourism Governance

7.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on empirical evidence about the recent trends of tourism governance in Athens. The utilisation of interview transcripts⁷² is maximised here as a means of illustrating how the actors of tourism development perceive the policy-institutional context under investigation and the ways in which they shape one another. Dialectical interactions are seen as dependent not only on the prosperity of different actors in terms of statutory powers, financial assets, and other resources but also on their capacity to effectively assess existing opportunities and challenges, learn from new experiences, and improve future practices. This relational-evolutionary perspective on tourism planning and power comprises the basis for an interpretive critique of tourism governance in the next chapter through the ‘Strategic-Relational Approach’ (SRA).

The narrative of key research themes begins with an exploration of post-Olympic prospects for tourism development and how these are associated with the contemporary image of Athens and institutional complexity. The main sections of this chapter examine relationships between actors, as they span across policy areas and institutional levels, through illustrative examples from the policy areas of development laws and land-use planning. The chapter concludes by integrating actors’ perceptions about the future of

⁷² Interview findings are presented according to the coding system discussed in Chapter Four and used in Chapters Five and Six: CG: Central Government Agencies; RL: Regional & Local Authorities; TT: Tourism-Traders Associations and Key Private Actors; VG: Voluntary Groups and other Individuals

tourism development and collaboration, and identifying what holds the key of enhancing coordination. In so doing, the present and the future of tourism governance in Athens are explored and all necessary data are available for the interpretive intervention of the SRA in Chapter Eight.

7.2 Contemporary Prospects for Tourism Development

As the introduction of the research setting in Chapter Three justified why post-Olympic Athens is considered an interesting case study from a tourism development perspective, I had to explore how the staging of the Olympic Games affected perceptions about the next day and whether facts and events from 2004 to the period of fieldwork had met actors' expectations. The viewpoints of interviewees from all interest groups were consistent with supportive comments Athens received by international media after the games (San Francisco Chronicle, 2004; The Guardian, 2004; Washington Post, 2004). For the great majority of interviewees, it was imperative for the city to build on this heritage and maximize benefits from tourism in the long-term. It was questioned, however, the extent to which these trends improved the position of Athens among European urban tourism destinations in terms of hotel overnights and revenues⁷³. Remarks on behalf of members of tourism associations that not enough was done to enhance the comparative advantages of Athens have lately coincided with the stabilization of tourism traffic (AAHA, 2008b).

⁷³ Despite a short period of disappointing trends to the beginning of 2005 (Karantzavelou, 2005; Koumelis, 2005a; 2005b; 2005c), evidence presented in Appendix D suggests that from 2005 to 2007 hotel overnights and occupancy rates recorded only moderate increases (*cf.* AAHA, 2008a; AAHA and JBR Hellas Horwarth, 2005; ATEDC 2008a; 2008b; Ikkos and Merkenhof, 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008).

The Contemporary Image of Athens

Interviewees from all interest groups unveiled their thoughts on how the Olympic Games marked a new era through the communication of a contemporary image. Members of the socialist party that was in power until 2004 discerned links between new infrastructures and post-Olympic opportunities for tourism development. For the majority of interviewees, however, the city's fresh image was not associated with a specific plan for tourism development. As outlined in Chapter Six, this idea is linked to the lack of tangible benefits before the Olympics, given the low performance of tourism for years before as well as during the modernization of hotels and cultural facilities.

Instead, this contemporary image was argued to derive from the cumulative impact of the infrastructures that were planned because of the Olympics, contributed to their successful staging and revitalized the city's profile⁷⁴. According to one entrepreneur: *"Athens has become more attractive, but the issue is how it will become well-known both about its ancient heritage and additional attractions"* (TT: Mari). For civil servants and tourism associations, the post-Olympic coincidence was a unique opportunity for Athens to redefine its status in both the domestic and incoming tourism markets, support the development of alternative forms of tourism, and spread benefits beyond the city centre of Athens. These objectives may appear as independent, but interviews suggested they are closely interrelated. For instance, the impact of modern transportation infrastructure and sport-recreational facilities on tourism may only be temporary, unless it enables *"the dispersal of tourists to the city's periphery, facilitates the development of city-breaks, and*

⁷⁴ Two customer satisfaction surveys confirmed the appeal to tourists of the upgraded hotel stock, modern transportation, and cultural sites. They also indicated that more people visited Athens for holidays and intended to return to or recommend it to friends and relatives (AAHA, 2006a; 2007a).

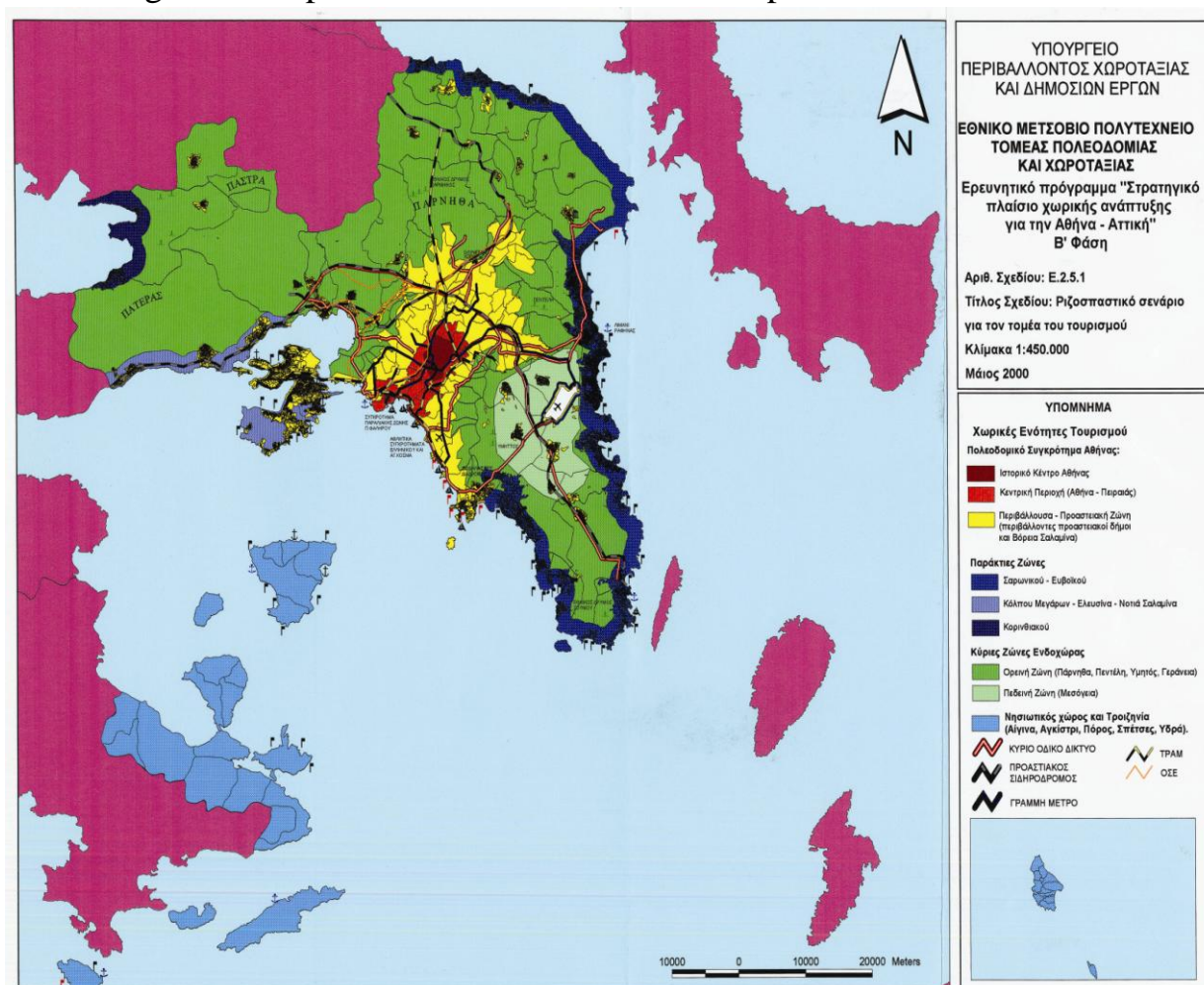
strengthens alternative forms of tourism along the waterfront” (CG: Mpil). In this respect, the following officer from the GNTTO eloquently summarized the perceived diversity and richness of the tourism product of Athens:

“Buzzing nightlife, recreation facilities, and cultural sites can be found in many cities, but I cannot think of many places where attractive islands are mixed with a refurbished waterfront including beautiful beaches. Athens is also the most convenient starting point for excursions across the countryside of Eastern Attica, tours to the well-known heritage sites of the Greek mainland and for island hopping in the Aegean. Appropriate destination management is needed to turn these features into strategic advantages” (CG: Tsak).

Challenges in Building a Vision for Tourism Development

Despite the dynamics of the tourism product of Athens, signs of institutional discontinuity seem to hinder sound tourism development. The regional and multifaceted character of the Athens tourism product was underscored in the past by university studies (OPEPA and NTUA, 1998; 2004). These studies detected a variety of development opportunities first of all within the prefectures of Athens and Piraeus (red, yellow, and light blue areas in Figure 7.1) and then within the wider Attica Region (green and deep blue areas in Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Spatial Units of Tourism Development in Athens-Attica



Source: Adapted from OPEPA and NTUA (2004)

Similar conclusions along with an indicative programme of activities and partnerships are included in the study of GNT0 (2003) that guided the construction of the sampling framework in Chapter Four. Controversy surrounds, however, what occurred with this study. Conservationists and socialist MPs criticised recent leadership in the MINTD for ignoring the studies that were completed in 2003 for each one of the Greek regions, and included carrying capacity calculations. Responses from the MINTD pointed out that the preparation of studies does not entail an institutional commitment for their delivery. Accordingly, these studies are supposed to inform policy-making. Yet, responses from the GNT0 implied that the MINTD does not facilitate cooperation with the GNT0 because:

“whereas the socialist government funded these studies, the new government and the MINTD opted to put them aside” (CG: Kara). Talking about inadequate communication, another interviewee identified similarities between the past and the present when he remembered of the saturation: *“it had been discussed for years, but nobody ever assessed case by case its effects across areas in order to put forward a solid argument about its necessity”* (CG: Limp). Signs of institutional discontinuity are not easily confronted even by the recent enactment of the ‘Special Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development of Tourism’ (SFSPSDT). Given that the SFSPSDT became a law of the state in 2009 and remembering that the socialists have promised to replace it, it is vital to discover whether a vision for tourism development in Athens has emerged after 2004.

Why Don’t We Do It Like Barcelona?

Trying to capture interviewees’ expectations about post-Olympic tourism development in Athens, I discovered a vast array of references to Barcelona as the most profound example of a successful post-Olympic city. According to interviewees from the public and private sectors, this is because Barcelona maximized tourism benefits in the long-term by organizing the destination and employing strategies in the fields of cultural events, waterfront development, conventions, exhibitions, and cruise tourism. The majority of these references expressed admiration for the accomplishments of Barcelona and disappointment for the lack of similar results in Athens. However, only the senior consultant of the ‘Institute of Tourism Research and Forecasts’ provided deeper insights into the essence of differences between these two cities.

“Both cities used the Olympics to modernize infrastructures, but the public and the private sectors in Barcelona realized they could transform their city to an attractive business and tourism centre. By contrast, very little was done here in terms of post-Olympic planning. (...) The ‘Turisme de Barcelona’ was established by the public and the private sectors in order to guarantee the flow of funds and build a long-term strategic partnership, whereas here the Olympic legacy will soon be a distant memory” (VG: Rapa).

It is difficult to refer to a strategic and shared vision, when the management of the multifaceted character of the tourism product of Athens has not been clearly addressed and fulfilled. Conflicting perceptions and interests hinder the discovery of mutually respected objectives and solutions. A notable number of interviewees described Athens after 2004 as an environmentally unfriendly city, and raised concerns of uncontrolled urban development, waste management, and the protection of green areas. Delays in the utilisation of state-owned assets that would revitalize the waterfront are perceived as major drawbacks by tourism associations. Yet, those groups that appeal to the ‘Council of State’ or engage in activism perceive such delays as a pleasing scenario in contrast to the prospect of the public property’s long-term exploitation by the private sector. The situation is further polarised because of the lack of consensus between major political parties as well as between the government’s plans and the aspirations of local governments. Simultaneously, the lack of progress often elicits the private sector’s severe criticism. The AAHA (2007b) is very critical regarding the unsatisfactory operation of archaeological sites and museums, security in the Athens city-centre, delays in the establishment of the metropolitan convention centre, and the absence of targeted tourism marketing.

Challenges in Dealing with the Complexity of the Tourism Policy-Institutional Context

In the absence of a methodical approach to facilitating policy coordination between policy areas and levels of administration, complex policy issues remain unaddressed and circumscribe tourism development beyond the Athens city centre. The intensification of challenges and conflicts is often the result at the regional level. For instance, Chapter Five outlined obstacles hampering the regeneration of Piraeus including administrative weaknesses and financial problems in the municipality, poor relationships between the municipality and the port's authority, and the long-term lack of a vision for the city and the port on behalf of consecutive governments.

The islands of the Saronic Gulf exemplify, however, even more illustratively conflicts and challenges of tourism policy at the regional level. Despite concerns over co-responsibilities between the MINTD, the 'Ministry of Transportation', the 'Civil Aviation Authority' and the company of the new airport, the MINTD and tourism associations agree that a strategy for the connection of Athens with low-cost carriers is an essential prerequisite towards the development of city-breaks (AGTE, 2005a; 2005b). Indeed, the 'Athens International Airport S.A.' "*accommodated 19 low-cost carriers flying to 31 destinations in 2007*" (TT: Noka), but weakened its efforts in attracting charter flights. This strategy has provoked negative consequences on international arrivals and overnights in the islands of Attica. Studies equip readers with relevant statistics (Hospitality and Tourism, 2004; Mathioudakis, 2008). Yet, the divergence of views between tourism associations and the airport's company highlighted the lack of pro-active planning:

“Arrivals have dramatically decreased due to the new airport’s high taxes and charges, which discourage charter flights. We have not stopped protesting and been supported by stronger than us associations and even sent a letter to the prime minister himself, but nobody responded. Advertising campaigns are pointless when tour operators do not will to use this airport. The colonial contract does not allow the existence of any alternative airport in the wider area of Athens” (TT: Kaso).

“It may not be rational if you are very good but too expensive to be affordable. (...) From one day to another, the tourism industry in these islands had to cope with completely different conditions” (TT: Fina).

“By accusing this airport as being expensive, it is underestimated the provision of high quality services, which are offered on a 24-hour basis and currently include it in the top-five of airports in Europe. There is absolutely no need for another airport in Attica. Entrepreneurs in the Saronic Gulf should figure out whether they are still competitive instead of picking on easy targets” (TT: Noka).

Similar challenges are evident in the interplay of land-use planning with economic policy instruments. As discussed in Chapter Six, the recently ratified national planning frameworks specify the characteristics of tourism development in Athens as key constituents of the city’s contemporary dynamism. Principles incorporated in national legislation will be specialized in the forthcoming update of the ‘Athens Master Regulatory Plan’ (AMRP). Likewise, when the ‘Regional Operational Programme for Attica 2007-2013’ (ROPA) adopts the principles of the hierarchically superior ‘National Strategic Reference Framework’, tourism is highlighted among key economic activities in the objective of enhancing the international role of Attica as a development pole in South-Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. In a seemingly institutional perfection, this convergence of policy aspirations could suggest policy coordination.

However, the lack of integration between regional planning and economic policies seems to predetermine the lack of a vision for tourism development. While the major political parties accused each other of challenges in the exploitation of Olympic legacy, significant delays in the preparation of an updated version of the AMRP have prevented the

identification of tourism development objectives for the wider area of Athens. Simultaneously, interviewees from tourism public agencies, the Region of Attica and local authorities explained their individual roles during the period 2007-2013, but were not well aware of the plans and intentions of other organisations. As well as expressing negative thoughts on their cooperation with the Region and questioning its decisions upon the contents of the ROPA, senior executives from the MINTD and the GNTD avoided to answer relevant probes and advised me to speak with the ‘Tourism Development Company’ (TDC). Indeed, the TDC is supposed to play for a first time an active role in public investments through European funds including the modernization of an exhibition centre and the construction of a pedestrian zone with bicycle lanes along the waterfront. These activities are considered suitable, but not enough to boost the profile of Athens as a city-break destination. According to interviewees from both the public and the private sectors, it is required the identification of spatial priorities within the wider area and, thus, an unambiguous connection with the objectives of the SFSPSDT. Furthermore, it is considered time for *“more innovative initiatives than repetitive fiscal measures in the support of small-medium tourism enterprises”* (CG: Dopa).

Concerns on behalf of the Private Sector concerning the State’s Role

In this respect, I observed the private sector’s growing criticism for the public sector’s unresolved weaknesses. This criticism cannot be ignored in a period during which Attica is not fully eligible for the convergence objective and can be handed funds only from the ‘ROPA 2007-2013’ (Region of Attica, 2007). The private sector is eager to see how Athens will be benefited from tourism-related funds, an estimated amount of almost 95

million Euros according to the managing authority of the ROPA, without considering indirect benefits through funds devoted to environmental protection, cultural heritage, and urban regeneration projects. While concerns surround the capacity of local governments to organize and deliver substantial projects, the majority of complaints revolve around the ineffectiveness of the MINTD and GNTO to work closely with other government agencies and sub-national governments in order to minimize delays and inadequate initiatives.

Likewise, tourism associations were not impressed in the long-term by the centre-right government's lavish spending⁷⁵ for advertising, especially when they saw the partial implementation of the 'Strategic Marketing Plan for Greek Tourism' (SMPGT). The idea was that by merely spending more money, there was no guarantee for the modernization of operations and the desirable differentiation of advertising campaigns from the typical recipe of summer holidays. Additionally, a few cautious thoughts underscored that *"spending so much money without assessment mechanisms might be irresponsible"* (TT: Zots). In respect to the different areas of Attica, the professor of tourism marketing claimed the private sector's argument was substantiated by *"the absence of reforms that would instil a culture of partnerships across levels of administrations and unite activities under the meaningful and more easily recognizable brand name of Athens"* (VG: Lato).

⁷⁵ An overview of the AGTE annual reports since 1994, included in bibliography, suggests that only after 2004 the state met the expectations of tourism associations in terms of available funds for tourism promotion and initiatives towards the preparation of a strategic marketing plan for tourism. The former issue sparked, however, intensive arguments between political parties. The reason of dispute was that the centre-right government congratulated itself about the addition of 50 and 40 million Euros in 2005 and 2006 respectively to the usual budget of less than 10 million Euros (Kathimerini, 2004; MINECO, 2007c), yet equivocated on their generous source. Funds derived from increased profits after the privatization of the Parnitha casino by the socialists (Laws 2837/2000; 2919/2001; 3139/2003), whose decision had been heavily criticised earlier on by the 'New Democracy'.

The aim would be to modernize national supervision over activities undertaken by regional-local governments according to the guidelines of the SMPGT (AAHA, 2007b; PRC *et al.*, 2007). Accordingly, the public interest could also be protected, because funds would not be spent into piecemeal activities in which “*individual prefectures promote themselves in countries that don’t even have flight connections with the destination*” (VG: Lato) and “*attractions situated in a short distance from each other are promoted in a disconnected manner*” (TT: Nopa). Interviewees from the MINTD and the GNTD recognized that coordination in a multi-level context is a challenging task, especially when “*delays in the provision of funds by the MINECO to the GNTD are later exposed as the incompetence of the GNTD to support the prefectures in due time*” (CG: Rido). However, the following quotations show that when the tourism public administration and prefectures indulge in recriminations, efforts for the improvement of coordination are minimized.

“We are now in the middle of 2008 and have not yet heard from the GNTD or the MINTD since the submission of the current action plan in December 2007. (...) Coordination is important and we do try to meet the guidelines. Yet, the prefecture starts paying for its activities without the certainty of the government’s approval and long before it receives any funds from the GNTD” (RL: Kadi).

“The supervision of a huge number of submitted plans from all over Greece is a tough mission, especially when local governments exhibit a lack of professionalism in their participation in international tourism fairs, the selection of media, and their relationships with local entrepreneurs” (CG: Noto).

Although these examples are indicative of challenges in tourism policy-making and implementation, the next sections of this chapter scrutinize recent events and interactions in the policy areas of development laws and regional planning to shed further light on the nature of tourism governance in Athens.

7.3 Relationships between Government Agencies and Tourism Associations

The analysis of recent trends in Athens continues with the exploration of horizontal intra-governmental relationships and the efforts of tourism associations to influence policy-making. The previous discussion has shown how the unclear distinction of roles between the MINTD and GNTD hampers their work and co-existence, while the same organisations face challenges in their communication with other ministries. Additional evidence has demonstrated how tourism associations strive to promote their own arguments through lobbying practices while judging existing formal consultations as ineffective. Accordingly, this section scrutinizes recent developments in the provisions of development laws. That is a key policy area, because the ‘Development Law’ 2601/1998 updated the hotel stock of Athens by offering incentives for the modernization of middle and high-class hotels. Moreover, the removal of the status of saturation from mainland Attica enabled the construction of new four and five star hotels without subsidies (J.M.D 27783/2003) before 2004. For the hoteliers of Athens, their investments proved their commitment to the city’s economic development. As the director of the AAHA pointed out, hoteliers undertook these investments with great expectations of the next day after the Olympic Games:

“Hoteliers spent considerable capitals in order to maintain and enhance the quality of their establishments, and proved once again their vision with all these new non-subsidised hotels. It is disappointing that the state has not shown an equal interest in helping tourism development in Athens in the long-term” (TT: Vato).

Evidence mainly from interviews suggests this statement is not solely associated with pending issues of the post-Olympic tourism development agenda, but is also linked to a serious dispute between the MINTD, the Ministry of Economy (MINECO), and hoteliers.

Recent Reforms in the Provisions of Development Laws

Ratifying ‘Development Law’ 3299/2004, the newly elected centre-right government of ‘New Democracy’ simplified bureaucracy and provided generous investment incentives. Grants and tax exemptions boosted the establishment and expansion of three, four, and five star hotels in ‘Areas of Controlled Tourism Development’ all over Greece⁷⁶, except of the wider areas of Athens and Thessaloniki where incentives were not available. Hence, Law 3299/2004 was promoted as another key reform for strengthening regional development (MINECO 2006d; MINTD 2006b).

Reforms continued when the centre-right government endorsed the suggestions of tourism associations (AGTE, 2006a; Chamber of Hotels, 2006a), removed the status of saturation from all regions, and maintained the status of ‘Areas of Controlled Tourism Development’ (M.D 7394/2005). Tourism associations saw this decision as helpful for the enrichment of ex-saturated areas with high-class accommodation establishments and supplementary facilities. This decision also re-confirmed the pro-Olympic removal of saturation from mainland Attica, and allowed the potential arrival of international hotel chains and the building of new high-class hotels without subsidies. Thereupon, unprecedented consensus was reached between hoteliers and the central government.

⁷⁶ The outcome of approved tourism projects within only two years of implementation of this law was more impressive than completed projects within seven years of implementation of Law 2601/1998 (Appendix Q).

Along with the M.D 7394/2005, ‘Development Law’ 3299/2004 was facilitating the upgrade of the country’s hotel stock without causing an oversupply of beds that would undermine the viability of unsubsidized pro-Olympic hotel investments.

Conflicts due to the Provision of Subsidies in Ex-Saturated Areas all over Greece

Yet, euphoria proved to be only temporary. The first signs of conflict surfaced when the government incorporated ex-saturated areas, which continue being among the most popular Greek resorts, among eligible areas for subsidies on new five star hotels (J.M.D 17829/2006). For the hotel sector, this decision came to subvert healthy competition and contradict the rhetoric of sustainable tourism. Hoteliers thought that it would inevitably lead to an oversupply of luxury beds without signs of respective demand and providence for infrastructure improvements. Another issue was the lack of “*criteria and objectives for the diversification of the tourism product before the completion of consultations over the planning framework for tourism*” (TT: Doxr). According to the same interviewee, this decision was a reflection of the incompetence of the MINTD to influence the decisions of the MINECO and work for the reduction of economic disparities:

“Insofar as we don’t support remote areas and mitigate negative effects in the most developed ones, the state’s financial resources are spent carelessly and hoteliers trap themselves in the vicious circle of decreasing prices in order to survive” (TT: Doxr).

Interviewees from tourism public agencies said they were aware of these issues. However, they also admitted their general contribution to the preparation of development laws had only been secondary, in comparison to the institutional role they were supposed to play, as they were hindered by the public sector’s wider operation.

“The MINTD agreed to the qualitative upgrade of hotels and beds in ex-saturated areas, but does not ignore that the growth of supply is higher than the growth of demand. This perspective must be also understood by the MINECO. The MINTD has so far not assumed a central role during the preparation of development laws” (CG: Apos).

“This directorate of the GNTD analyses available data in order to address what areas cannot subsume new hotels and need alternative investments. However, the MINTD is not using our knowledge and experience, and these proposals are not methodically discussed with the MINECO” (CG: Kara).

Although the provision of incentives and the role of the newly established MINTD generated vivid debates throughout 2006 between the MINTD and tourism associations, the J.M.D 17829/2006 did not make a great difference in Athens. The reason was that Law 3299/2004 did not provide incentives for new five star hotels.

Conflicts due to the Provision of Subsidies for New Five-Star Hotels in Attica

Tension suddenly mounted when it was introduced an amendment of ‘Development Law’ 3299/2004 (Law 3522/2006) that included subsidies for new five star hotels in Attica for a first time after the 1970s (Appendix R). Tourism associations explicitly disputed any disruption of the tourism policy status quo (AAHA, 2006b; AGTE, 2006b, Chamber of Hotels, 2006b; HHF, 2006a; 2006b). The nature of inter-ministerial relationships between the MINTD and the MINECO was criticized along with the fact that such an important decision emerged without previous consultations between the government and tourism associations. Since substantial private investments had been realized without any public financial support before 2004 and tourism indicators had not fulfilled the business world’s expectations since then, hoteliers questioned the state’s decision. Thereupon, “*any new subsidized hotels would be able to adopt a more flexible pricing policy and spoil fair*

competition” (TT: Vato). Despite negative comments about the mentality of hoteliers, senior executives from the MINTD and the GNTD confirmed suspicions of piecemeal intra-governmental cooperation and did not strongly challenge opposite arguments.

“The MINECO’s priority was to accommodate the priorities of economic policy, and sent a questionnaire to the general secretary of the MINTD. He gave it to our directorate, and we returned it to him. The final result shows that either our leadership did not properly evaluate our comments or the MINECO did not pay attention to the opinions of another ministry about a serious but controversial issue. (...) The hoteliers of Athens consider fair competition when new players cannot penetrate into their market” (CG: Noto).

“The MINECO never came in contact with the GNTD so we sent our proposals to the MINTD, but something was obviously missed. When hoteliers understood what had happened, they presented it as a personal dispute between the two ministers in order to exert political pressure” (CG: Kara).

After a series of inter-organizational correspondences and meetings between the heads of associations and the two ministers at the beginning of 2007, the J.M.D 33016/07 finally relieved the anxiety of hoteliers. This decision amended the J.M.D 17829/2006 and excluded the biggest part of Attica from subsidies on the establishment of five star hotels. This happy ending provoked a couple of sharp comments, as it was the diametric opposite of the hoteliers’ initial reaction. For instance:

“The minister of tourism was finally praised by hoteliers for her contribution and promises that inter-ministerial relationships would be strengthened after this incident. Yet, this debate was forgotten when the leadership and officials changed once again” (CG: Kara).

Until the end of the fieldwork, there was no sign of a more systematic approach in the preparation of development laws, in terms of intra-governmental and inter-organizational relationships, especially due to the unsatisfactory operation of the ‘National Board of Tourism’ discussed in Chapter Six. Therefore, contestations on the performance and

effectiveness of inter-ministerial relationships remain alive, and it may still be possible for specific interests and personalities to supersede official institutional arrangements:

“The hoteliers of Athens had no option but to push against this decision. The growth of occupancies and revenues does not allow for new additions in the hotel stock of Athens. The AAHA gave credit to the previous minister of tourism because she understood the association’s arguments, declared her agreement in public, and then fought in order to change the MINECO’s decision.” (TT: Vato).

The J.M.D 33016/07 temporarily terminated tension between hoteliers and the tourism public administration. This sequence of events is an interesting example of how an issue of tourism development at the regional level is filtered through national institutions. It also illustrates how the tourism public administration may struggle to participate in serious policy decision-making. Moreover, the lack of systematic inter-organizational consultations may lead tourism associations to adopt intense lobbying practices and exert political pressure to reassure their interests. Yet, this sequence of events did not enable reforms that would enhance collaboration. As the next section discusses, the Athens waterfront epitomizes another case where the public sector’s problematic operation and a climate of distrust damaged the progress of influential projects.

7.4 Relationships between Government Agencies, Local Governments, and the Private and Voluntary Sectors

This section shows how tourism development at the regional-local level can involve interactions that span across various actors, institutions, and levels of administration. In the recent agenda of tourism development in Athens, the most intriguing and controversial debate is concerned with the waterfront and prospects about its post-Olympic transformation to a zone of tourism, leisure and cultural activities. Building on references included in Chapters Five and Six concerning regional planning, this section explores various perspectives and interpretations. The aim is to dig into tourism collaboration challenges and discuss key implications of recent developments, which shape the fortune of future actions.

The Case of the Athens Waterfront – Conflicting Interests and Political Arguments

The waterfront resurfaced in policy debates, when the pro-Olympic upgrade of public infrastructure was combined with plans and statutes about its reconstruction. Since then, however, a barrage of utterly contrasting views and political arguments has reflected the lack of progress. For some voluntary groups, the reasoning itself of transforming the waterfront to an entertainment zone was false. As the following activist argued, governments throughout the 1990s contemplated economic development through the intensive utilisation of land, albeit the suggestions of urban planners on the reconstruction of ex-industrial and derelict sites and the efforts of local communities to prioritize the preservation of public uses and environmental protection.

“Citizen groups reacted, when it became clear that the intensification of real-estate practices would in the long-term entail revenues for the public sector and benefits only for the private sector. The latter had every reason to welcome its intervention in the development of prestigious public spaces and facilities with low investment risks. Hence, further tourism development along the waterfront was not seen positively by citizen groups and a few determined local officials, who did not stay apathetic” (VG: Lamp).

Complaints about incompatible political promises proved to be popular. In a collective fashion, mayors and citizen groups had stood against the long-term leasing of marinas and beaches by the socialist government before 2004. They were also disappointed when the centre-right government continued the same policy, despite previous criticism towards the practices of socialists. A similar reasoning pertains to the management of Olympic venues. Statutes on land uses and promises that several of these facilities were prefabricated and would be removed after 2004 “*had partially played down worries about the selection of sites*” (VG: Besx). Local groups were frustrated, however, when the centre-right government accused the socialists of constructing solid buildings and lacking in a post-Olympic utilisation plan. This argument justified the introduction of commercial and tourism uses in specific venues as a means of raising revenues and compensating for the maintenance of costly facilities (Law 3342/2005). The following socialist MP, who expressed his contradiction to the long-term stance of the centre-right political party, reflects the intensity of political disputes:

“When the ‘Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement’ (PASOK) established the ‘Olympic Properties S.A,’ the current minister of tourism development was accusing us of selling off the public property. When the ‘New Democracy’ came to power, however, they re-confirmed the company’s powers and prioritized the leasing of venues. We were favouring the private sector’s intervention, and planning to lease very few of them in order to be converted to a luxurious marina and a metropolitan convention centre. Yet we also wanted local communities to participate in the utilisation of sports facilities and green spaces, because our perception of public interest is not adhered to the perspective of financial benefits” (VG: Taka).

Complaints about the Weak Role of Local Governments in Policy Decision-Making

With important projects still pending along the waterfront, members of tourism associations accused the dispersal of powers and the lack of effective intra- and intergovernmental coordination of preventing state-owned assets to be at the spearhead of tourism development. They also questioned the capacity of local governments to get effectively involved with influential projects and tourism-related initiatives. However, the following member of the private sector maintained a more sympathetic view of local governments while considering unfair their secondary role in decision-making:

“A friend said that something must be done with the waterfront’s communists. I disagreed with him not because I don’t understand that one appeal to the ‘Council of State’ can postpone one project for months or even years. I just believe nobody has tried to integrate the opinions of local people into big projects” (TT: Basi).

The specialization of local planning through national institutions does not diminish challenges, which span across and are amplified between levels of administration. Various interviewees spoke about how difficult is to find out “*what belongs to whom and whose responsibility is what*” (RL: Empi) along the waterfront. Hence, the complicated status of land properties is understood to increase bureaucracy and dishearten investors, especially in the presence of weak local authorities whose “*complaints are reasonable when they are ignored in local planning (...) but fall short of skilful human resources*” (TT: Baha). Though aware of challenges in vertical intergovernmental relationships, other members of tourism associations were very critical of the mentality of local officials, who “*know only how to get the taxes of entrepreneurs without providing services of an adequate quality*” (TT: Lopo).

Different Perspectives on the Management of State-Owned Property

In considering gaps between groups of actors, three perspectives on the management of state-owned assets were identified. First, tourism associations and policy makers remain sceptical about the state's operation at both the national and local levels. These actors view the introduction of technical skills and financial resources by the private sector, under the supervision of central government agencies, as the optimal policy mix. Second, conservationists interpret as privatizations the long-term leasing of state-owned assets, and call for activist and judicial initiatives to delay or prevent such projects. There are mayors who embrace this perspective or have even surfaced from local movements. There are also, however, mayors who were criticised because they did not defy the government or negotiated with it until the ultimate victory, as the following activist explained:

“Many people did not forgive the mayor's decision to bargain with the TDC, and finally withdrew the appeal to the ‘Council of State’ against the marina's leasing for forty years, in exchange of a small park next to the sea and one part of the beach” (VG: Mpek).

From the viewpoint of nonstop protesters, it is a political obligation of local officials to gain necessary resources and powers from the central administration that will allow them to succeed in the management of state-owned assets, without the private sector's intervention. Otherwise, they cannot be considered capable of protecting local interests.

Somewhere in between these extremes, there are individuals, dispersed over the various groups of actors, who respect the arguments of citizen groups but seek a balance between the achievement of economic targets and the contentment of local expectations. The latest managing director in the TDC concluded that both the neo-liberal spirit of Margaret

Thatcher and the era of economic statism belong to the past. For him, balance must be preserved between the private sector's necessary intervention and public care in the provision of quality services with respect to environmental and social aspects. Hence, the following statement is suggested to promote a new philosophy of policy goals and approaches in the development and management of state-owned assets:

“We will revisit the contracts of organized beaches in due time, but we are also looking for alternative management approaches beyond the practice of long-term leases. (...) The TDC has undergone with internal funds the renovation of another public organized beach, where people can enjoy facilities without paying anything extra except the entrance admission. Revenues are coming from private contractors inside the beach, who also take care to keep the site clean” (CG: Siko).

Nothing can certify beforehand that this new message is not sincere, but the lack of trust and the intensification of citizen movements along the waterfront should not necessarily be regarded as signs of extreme leftism. The evidence of “*a network of protests, which has grown up during the last decade ready to support citizen movements when necessary*” (VG: Tsio), could also be seen as a corollary of the perceived unwillingness of the central state to integrate local aspirations into plans for state-owned assets (Hellenic Olympic Properties S.A, 2007a; 2007b; Kathimerini, 2007; Ta Nea, 2008; TDC, 2008) and undeveloped sites (MINENV, 2007; OPEPA, 2007; SNFCC, 2008).

Rich History of Local Conflicts and Events

The evidence from interviews uncovered a rich history of events and conflicts suggesting the lack of strategic planning. During fieldwork, I spoke with a member of a socialist municipal administration, which achieved to interfere in the management of Olympic venues and the reconstruction of an undeveloped site after years of activist and judicial tactics. Another centre-right mayor did not hide his frustration, as he was patiently waiting

for more than eighteen months the implementation of ministerial decisions concerning the re-development of municipal beaches. Furthermore, I met citizens who were tired of waiting the creation of an ecological park by the ‘Olympic Properties S.A.’ and set about cleaning and planting trees on the site. Another group of citizens clashed with the company of one marina trying to prevent what they thought as environmentally harmful extension works. The advice of the marina’s general manager in the latter case was not to pay attention to the stubborn members of the particular citizen group. In all these cases, it is indicative that complaints revolved around the lack of a vision for the whole waterfront.

For local officials and activists, reforms and statutes before 2004 were incompatible with the philosophy of the initial ‘Athens Master Regulatory Plan’ but, at least, did not include the intensive commercial and tourism uses introduced by the post-Olympic Law 3342/2005. Ironically, no institution has yet been established to oversee coastal planning, although the P.D 5.3.2004 on the waterfront’s land uses and building terms had the foresight to map out a monitoring committee. As the following quotes uncover, a policy maker can regard the non-implementation of the law as a ‘*minor institutional negligence*’. For local communities, however, this is evidence of the central administration’s unwillingness to listen to them:

“The committee’s non-establishment is not a conspiracy but a minor institutional negligence, because it would not substitute the serious job being done in the OPEPA. Whenever a landowner wants to proceed with a specific intervention in the coastal area, it is mandatory to submit a study including details for each intervention’s characteristics. Only after the study’s approval by the OPEPA, land owners can receive or extend their building permits and operation licenses” (CG: Naki).

“This committee could overcome challenges in coordination, facilitate monitoring, and build channels of communication (...). Rather, decision-making processes now have an internal character without open consultations and progress in removing illegal activities according to the provisions of the P.D 5.3.2004” (RL: Nofa).

The Mayor of Helliniko

Poor monitoring and the lack of collaboration in implementing the P.D 5.3.2004 also relate to a series of events occurred a few months before the beginning of fieldwork. At the end of May 2007, the 'Technical Chamber of Greece' (TGC, 2007) prepared a map including the types of uses approved by the P.D along with existing legal enclosures. The same map included various irregularities and illegal enclosures, which did not allow free access to the beach and had remained untouched over time. This map was first received by the district attorney of the 'Supreme Court of Civil and Penal Law', as a sign that prosecutions were necessary to remedy activities along the waterfront. It was also received by the minister of interior, whose contribution was asked to the creation of a public agency that would assume the management of coastal areas. It must be underlined, however, that these events occurred after the hunger strike that the mayor of the 'Municipality of Elliniko' started on the 18th May and completed no sooner than the 10th of June. International attention was the least to gain (The Guardian, 2007). This extreme initiative converted him to a symbol for citizen groups and revived debates over irregularities and the lack of a vision after 2004:

"I decided to undertake a hunger strike because government officials never paid attention to previous protests and suggestions for a broad discussion concerning the waterfront. (...) The northern side of the beach here belongs to a sport club, which operates as a legal entity of public interest under the 'General Secretariat of Sports', the MINECO, and the MINCUL. These organisations have for many years leased the biggest part of the site to nightlife and other entrepreneurs, so if you want to swim you have to pay from seven to ten €. These contracts are illegal and incompatible with activities that a legal entity of public interest is supposed to develop. Additionally, the southern side of the beach will become another luxurious marina, when there are almost more marinas than free swimming beaches along the waterfront. (...) Politicians came to express their moral support to the hunger strike, but the same people hadn't responded to my previous calls" (RL: Ziko).

With the hunger strike as the exception of the rule, judicial fights and community activism are at the forefront of efforts to exert political pressure. A dictum of the 'Legal Council of the State' at the beginning of 2008 confirmed the mayor's claims. The management of the northern part of the beach has been virtually transferred since then to the municipality's competence, although legal issues were still pending until the beginning of 2009. The beach operates now without admission, and facilities for disabled people have been added (Elliniko, 2008). Yet, the landscape is more obscure with respect to the southern part of the beach, in a conflict that also dates before 2004 and brings the particular mayor against both socialist and centre-right governments.

"We opposed the construction of the Olympic sailing centre because the previous government was also intending to transform it to a large-scale marina after 2004. We had lost our appeal to the 'Council of State' because it was very difficult even for this court to go against the Olympic dream. We may have better chance now with the new appeal. Under the pretext of generating revenues, the new government decided to add five-star lodgings, which will capture more than 65 thousand square metres next to the rest of the marina's facilities. The pressure for our area will be immense and free access will be an unknown term for next generations" (RL: Ziko).

"The socialist government never intended to add 65 thousand square metres of buildings in the marina. Mayors should be more careful in questioning the dialogue because all the 'Special Integrated Development Plans for Olympic Host Areas' (SIDPOHA) required extensive public consultation and the advice of the Council of State as presidential decrees. Olympic preparations occasionally had an urgent character, but there is no way we could have biased such a decree" (VG: Taka).

Another comment by the Mayor of Helliniko illustrates that perceptions about the central government's unwillingness to collaborate with local communities are well embedded, and explain his dedication to alternative manoeuvres.

"There was not much to discuss during the preparation of the SIDPOHA. The socialist government had decided the establishment of the sailing centre in previous Olympic laws without considering the aspirations of local people" (RL: Ziko).

Delays and Failures of other Projects

Problematic relationships between levels of public administration have impeded the progress of additional projects. The construction of a 42-kilometres pedestrian zone with bicycle lanes along the waterfront, which is currently among the projects of the TDC that will be funded by the ROPA 2007-2013, had first emerged as part of a regeneration programme under the auspices of the Supra-prefecture of Athens-Piraeus (2007) in collaboration with the waterfront's municipalities and voluntary groups. According to local officials, it was soon proved that this project was too ambitious for the supra-prefecture. Whereas this proposal was presented at the beginning of 2007, the 'Minister of Tourism Development' visited only after a few months each one of the waterfront's municipalities in order to inform them about her own proposal on a pedestrian zone with bicycle lanes (Municipality of Kallithea, 2007; Sgartsou, 2007). There are no documented debates over a possible merging or a partnership between the two distinct projects. When the supra-prefecture's plan was abandoned, however, the minister of tourism had already changed and almost nothing had become known about the respective project of the TDC until the end of 2009. For several local officials and members of tourism associations, it was expectable that "*the centre-right minister would not decide to share glory with the socialist supra-prefect*" (TT: Raps).

Likewise, limited resources and the lack of strategic partnerships resulted to the abandonment of a regeneration programme with European funds by the 'Municipality of Piraeus' (2007) and elicited the criticism of local actors. Moreover, years of anticipation for the establishment of a metropolitan park at the old airport's site have not yet led to a

‘happy ending’. The proposal that was submitted by the MINENV (2007) incorporates provisions for residential, commercial, and tourism uses, which are categorically rejected by the movement of four municipalities [Koini Drasi (Common Action), 2008] along with the support of voluntary groups. Given the dispersal and overlap of statutory powers, the weak role of local governments in urban planning and economic development, the lack of potent consultations, and political disputes associated with failures in policy-implementation, it is possible that well-established institutional challenges will continue delaying the waterfront’s exploitation from a tourism development perspective. In this sense, the next section shows that pessimistic perceptions transcend the policy areas of urban planning and tourism investments.

7.5 Perspectives on the Future of Tourism Development and Collaboration

In light of unfulfilled expectations and a series of unresolved challenges in the delivery of tourism policy and planning, pessimistic views on the future of tourism development in Athens dominated interviews. Insofar as the Olympic Games enabled the upgrade of urban infrastructure, their contribution to the enhancement of the city's image was considered to be of paramount importance. It is openly questioned, however, whether this rare coincidence was linked in a systematic manner with tourism development beyond political rhetoric for the appeal and growth of Athens as a city-break destination.

The latter has more recently emerged as an explicit policy objective in land-use planning and tourism marketing, where it is also underscored the regional and multifaceted character of the capital city's tourism product. Nevertheless, the great majority of interviewees from government agencies and tourism associations were convinced that tourism development in Athens was not the subject of a strategic plan either in the years before or right after the Olympic Games. Aspects of political strategy and behaviour were highlighted, as two political parties governed the country during the last two decades and the debate over the evolution of post-Olympic Athens was for long in the centre of political discourse. From a tourism development perspective, this debate still remains open, while the perpetual discovery of solutions without adequate developments seems to fuel pessimistic thoughts.

Sources of Pessimism

This study weighed various issues that prompted interviewees to express their thoughts on the future of tourism development. While one member of the private sector was conjecturing whether Athens would ever find again such a “*unique opportunity*” to develop tourism like the one it enjoyed after the Olympics (TT: Zots), other interviewees provided more in depth insight into current challenges. Their comments focused on the lack of integrated actions in the fields of destination management and marketing along with the utilisation of particular venues. The latter is also linked to the terms and conditions of urban and regional planning, whose relation with tourism development has remained fuzzy over time. The following quotes indicate the maze of issues in abeyance and the difficulty of confronting them without setting objectives and priorities:

“Low-cost carriers just recently started flying to Athens, as it was only Easyjet until 2005. Tickets for Athens are still among the most expensive ones, while airlines do not fancy the capital city as a transfer point for long haul flights. (...) It does not also make sense to promote Athens as a city-break destination in a disjointed manner without developing partnerships with tour-operators” (TT: Fina).

“Without a strategy, the rhetoric of city-breaks may evolve to a popular caramel for politicians like the one of sustainable tourism” (CG: Niko).

“The development of alternative forms of tourism in the wider area of Athens is an obvious option, but governments forget their promises to support conventions and congresses (...) I am tired to repeat every year the same issues in our annual conference and watch state executives approving these proposals, and then nothing at all until the next conference” (TT: Past).

“Athens remains an environmentally unfriendly city without the architectural appeal of Vienna and Prague or the traditional neighbourhoods of Paris. The unification of archaeological sites constitutes a notable exception, but there are still a lot to be done in terms of the city’s image. (...) As a visitor, the lack of cleanliness and green spaces does not make you feel like entering into a nice world” (CG: Dopa).

Crucially, institutional challenges at the national level hold the effective delivery of tourism policy back. I found interesting the points made by members of tourism associations about the durability of good efforts, which “*tend not to last for too long*” (TT: Mari), as well as about the central state’s operation, which is considered difficult to improve because “*structural changes in Greece meet resistance at various levels*” (TT: Raps). These comments concur with uncertainty and inconsistency in the MINTD and GNTD, caused by the fact that “*the agendas and priorities of tourism policy change every time new political leaderships and fellow executives arrive*” (CG: Kara). Similar concerns surface when horizontal relationships between the MINTD and GNTD or between these two organizations and other central government agencies remain problematic. The dispersal of tourism-related powers and the phenomenon of co-responsibilities along with the sporadic nature of consultations and the absence of adequate monitoring mechanisms were identified as key attributes of the policy-institutional context. In addition, concerns of meritocracy and excessive bureaucracy surround “*the lack of skilled employees in ministries and non-departmental bodies*” (CG: Kotz) and are believed to comprise “*the main reasons for the public sector’s inflexibility and inefficiency*” (TT: Tsap).

The above having been said, additional challenges flourish in intergovernmental and inter-organizational relationships. When prefectures and municipalities are criticised by the private sector for inadequate initiatives, they point the finger to the central government for their organisational weaknesses and limited role in strategic decision-making. According to the professor of tourism marketing and the marketing consultants, “*specialized knowledge of tourism is not among the virtues of local governments*” (TT: Riza). However, the lack of common initiatives at the local level is argued to depend above all on the lack of a culture of partnerships, which results to the “*accommodation of personal and political*

interests, inappropriate actions, and the misuse of public funds” (VG: Lato). Hence, “*the detailed guidelines of the SMPGT for city breaks have not become part of an integrated plan for Athens*” (TT: Riza) between levels of administration.

By the same token, the private sector also attracted comments about the inconsistency and mentality of its practices. Interviewees from tourism and traders associations defended the policy interventions of their organizations. The former in particular underlined the lobbying and research activities undertaken by the AGTE and “*its commitment to the modernization of tourist enterprises*” (TT: Mako). However, several interviewees informed this research about the establishment, evolution, and closure of the ‘Athens Convention-Visitors Bureau’ (ACVB), a partnership formed by four tourism associations from 2003 to 2006. The following quotes briefly shed light on challenges, such as the reluctance in sharing funding and conforming with contemporary ideas, which determine the temporary nature of partnerships.

“The ACVB didn’t follow the footsteps of respective international structures. It looked more like a dysfunctional replica of a tourism association with a very limited range of activities. The reason was that the presidents of tourism associations believed that the ACVB could operate according to their own knowledge. (...) When the ‘Association of British Travel Agents’ changed its decision to hold the travel convention of 2006 in Athens, the presidents were arguing with each other and started blaming the government for the lack of funding. It was then that the ACVB shut down without further notice” (VG: Lato).

“I am not sure we did enough to secure that available requests would be fairly distributed in order to convince companies to subscribe and support the initiative. It is probably best for such a bureau to be under a neutral authority, but subscriptions are necessary because you cannot always count on public expenditure” (TT: Past).

“Tourism associations do not have the financial basis to maintain such a project in the long-term. However, even when the ACVB was established, there was only a minimal support by the central state. Prefectures and municipalities were full of apathy and never responded to our invitations” (TT: Fina).

The Future of Tourism Collaboration

One thing that contradicts the evidence of problematic relations is that debates over the strengthening of collaboration have been a common denominator of the tourism policy agenda in Greece for more than a decade⁷⁷. More recently, the AAHA (2007c) introduced a proposal for an organization that would assume tourism promotion and management in Athens in the footsteps of international ‘Destination Management Organizations’ (DMO). Based on required subscriptions from the revenues of hoteliers as well as on additional financial contributions from other tourist enterprises, local authorities and the tourism public administration, this organization would “*unite the disjointed actors and budgets to avoid the duplication of actions*” (TT: Vato). This could be a promising step, because “*the summation of funds for tourism promotion in the four prefectures of Attica reflects a not inconsiderable amount in comparison with the respective budgets of DMOs in European cities*” (RL: Rops). During the fieldwork phase of research, the proposal of the AAHA coincided with debates over the establishment of a metropolitan administration that will transform regional-local governments in Attica. In considering, however, the perceived slow adjustment of the Greek public sector to difficult reforms, discussions with several interviewees revolved around the newest actor of tourism development in Athens; that is the ‘Athens Tourism and Economic Development Agency’ (ATEDC) under the ‘Municipality of Athens’.

⁷⁷ At the national level, arguments in favour of a systematic approach to tourism marketing date back to the late 1990s (AGTE, 1998b; 2002; 2003; 2007b; 2008; 2009). Additionally, the first proposals for the establishment of a state agency that would deal exclusively with tourism development in Athens emerged in the mid 1990s (AGTE, 1996; University of Aegean, 1997: cited by OPEPA and NTUA, 1998).

The 'Athens Tourism and Economic Development Company'

Although the director of tourism development in the ATEDC supported the idea of a metropolitan agency, because “*that is a sound option for a strategic approach in tourism development under a common branding identity*” (RL: Rops), he was not optimistic for the quick progress of this reform in the face of political and financial challenges. Hence, emphasis was placed on the activities and relationships of the ATEDC after the transformation of the initial departmental structure to a municipal development company:

“The ATEDC has lately extended networking with international DMOs, designed a contemporary destination brand under the slogan ‘Breathtaking Athens’, prepared a web-portal, established info-kiosks at the airport and the Athens city centre, and published a study for the evolution of tourism in Athens. (...) We don’t simply aim to improve the city’s image, but to integrate activities of tourism development, marketing, and management” (RL: Rops).

For the long-term fulfilment of these aspirations, the building of partnerships is a prerequisite. Given the particular size and influence of the city of Athens in the wider area, the ATEDC could co-exist in the future with a metropolitan tourism department. Until then, however, the ATEDC has to constantly look for partners, as “*the vision of this organization is to create common fields of activity and cooperation among the different actors of tourism economy in Athens and Attica and to incorporate their individual goals into the formulation of a common strategy*” (ATEDC, 2006: 5). According to the director of tourism development, the MINTD and GNTD were very helpful during the organization and staging by the ATEDC of the ‘City Break Expo’ along with the annual conference of the ‘European Cities Tourism’ in Athens in June 2007. Furthermore, after the failed attempt of tourism associations, the re-establishment of the ‘Athens Convention

Bureau' (ACB) as a department of the ATEDC at the beginning of 2008 was promoted as evidence of the organization's willingness to work closely with tourism associations and individual enterprises. Nevertheless, tourism associations always look forward to "*an integrated framework for interventions in various aspects of the tourism product with specific objectives and timetables as well as with a clarification of roles and provision for the monitoring of progress*" (TT: Noka).

Interviewees from the private sector were sceptical during the first round of interviews about the activities of the ATEDC. Arguments underscored the lack of jurisdiction "*to coordinate the activities of other local governments in Attica and overcome political differences*" (TT: Raps) or "*to intervene in fields mainly controlled by government agencies, even when it possesses relevant powers*" (TT: Doxr). Other members of the private sector were more positive during the second round of interviews, after the re-establishment of the ACB and the successful staging of the 'City Break Expo'. However, it is understood that the private sector is reluctant to provide financial support in the absence of a scheme under the auspices of both national and regional-local governments. Hence, the following quotes reveal that the participation of tourism associations, like the AGTE, the AAHA and the HATTA in the board of directors of the ATEDC was adhered to an exclusively advisory role:

"We had discussed two times in the board of directors, but we need to discuss again after the change of the organizational structure. (...) The initiatives of the ATEDC move to the right direction. Yet, I cannot see professional groups providing money, when the mayor's people take all the decisions" (TT: Fina).

"There is nothing worse than the solely advisory role because you are always uncertain for the fate of your suggestions. (...) You cannot ask for other people's money, when they play no part in official decision-making" (TT: Zots).

The divergence of views on the nature of collaboration reflects a gap between the ATEDC and professional groups. As a response to the previous comments, the director of tourism development of the ATEDC noted: *“the private sector was happy not to provide funds, as the percentage of its contribution would be minimal due to the increased capital of the newly established organizational structure”* (RL: Rops). Behind this comment and the observation that *“the ATEDC does not see any benefit from engaging in conflicts with tourism associations”* (RL: Rops) it was detected an implicit criticism of the intentions and practices of the private sector. At the same time, interviewees from the private sector rejected this point of view. One of them explained that her second thoughts about the ATEDC came from *“stories of corruption of similar municipal development companies in the past”* (TT: Zots), without, however, providing further details about these municipal companies.

To gauge the performance of the ATEDC, other interviewees compared its operation with other organizations of the wider public sector. For the marketing consultants, a certain level of professionalism of its workforce differentiates the ATEDC from the various prefectural structures and respective working-teams in the ‘Region of Attica’ and other municipalities. Interviewees from the tourism public administration also acknowledged the capacity and flexibility of the ATEDC to put forward interesting proposals for initiatives and partnerships, notwithstanding the lack of a commonly agreed agenda with the MINTD and GNTD. Whether or not these attributes can guarantee the long-term performance of the ATEDC could be a matter of a future research. Yet the following quote indicates the confidence within the ATEDC that this organization can become a key actor of tourism development in Athens:

“The scepticism of the private sector is linked to a certain extent with complaints about the general operation of the public sector. Nevertheless, the ATEDC is trying to respond to the industry’s expectations by learning from the practices of respective international structures and improving its philosophy, targets, and methods. It started as a small non-profitable organization and now it is a development company, with better funding sources, which has done much more than merely participating in tourism fairs. (...) We want to use our knowledge to capitalize on the strengths of the tourism product beyond the city centre of Athens, and be consistent in the provision of high-quality services. Whether or not we will build partnerships will determine our capacity to convey a vision for tourism development” (RL: Rops).

At the end of the current analysis, the ATEDC seems to be closer to the patterns of international DMOs than any other public organization involved in tourism development in Athens. However, it has to face challenges, such as the dispersal of powers and the lack of trust on behalf of the private sector, before enhancing the delivery of tourism policy and planning at the regional level. Thus, along with other examples in this chapter, the case of the ATEDC reflects the complexity of the governance of tourism development, and underlines how detrimental the lack of coordination can be for the future of tourism development and collaboration in the wider area of Athens,.

7.6 Conclusion

Drawing on data from interviews and documents, this chapter described recent trends and events in the policy-institutional context shaping tourism development in Athens. In so doing, it demonstrated why Athens has failed to reproduce the successful example of post-Olympic Barcelona, despite the appeal of an enhanced image. Ideas about what is hidden behind a failure in dealing with the complexity of both the tourism product and the tourism policy-institutional context were presented.

Coordination across levels of administration is regarded as problematic because of inefficient horizontal intra-governmental and vertical intergovernmental relationships. The problematic nature of relationships also delays or prevents the rationalisation of tourism policy in the policy areas of urban planning, economic development, and tourism marketing and management. The same reasoning applies in the case of inter-organizational relationships and consultations, whose outcomes remain under question. The centralised nature of tourism policy decision-making in Greece seems to be struggling to digest tourism development in the capital city's wider area because of the dispersal of powers and responsibilities, organisational weaknesses in the operation of the public sector, and the lack of consensus within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus. Insofar as challenges such as these remain unaddressed, repercussions from the absence of a strategic vision cast a shadow over the actors' perceptions about the future of tourism development and collaboration.

From a governance perspective, the future of tourism development in Athens seems to be indistinguishably related to the building of partnerships including the different levels of the public sector, the organized segments and interests of the private sector, and certain voluntary groups. Whether or not such partnerships will surface in the framework of a future metropolitan administration or under the auspices of the ATEDC could be a matter of future inquiry. Yet it is considered important to try to understand how the practices of the different actors and the nature of institutional arrangements have paved the way over time for current challenges. Hence, I engage in the next chapter in an interpretive critique of tourism governance through the conceptual framework of the SRA.

Chapter Eight: A Strategic Relational Approach to the Governance of Tourism Development in Athens

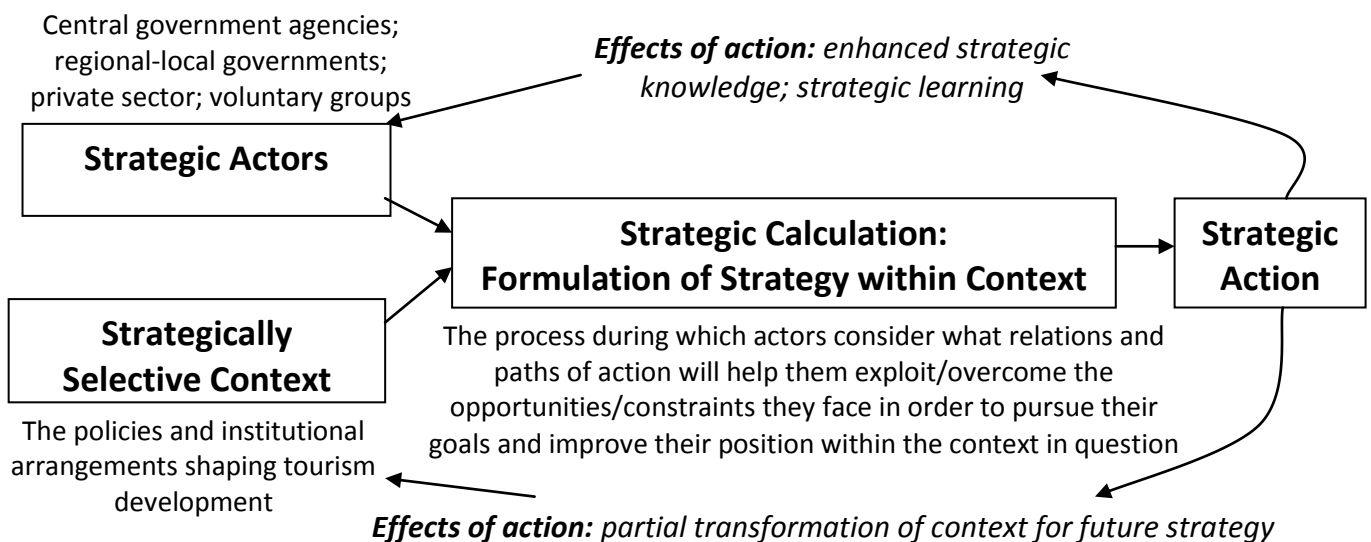
8.1 Introduction

The ‘Strategic Relational Approach’ (SRA) is employed in Chapter Eight to shed light on the nature and evolution of tourism governance in Athens according to empirical evidence presented in previous chapters. What this study has so far addressed are certain particularities of tourism policy and planning in Greece, and the ways in which they pertain to the development of tourism in the country’s capital city. This analysis is consistent with maintaining a relational-evolutionary view on interactions between actors and structures, levels of administration, and the arenas of tourism politics (Boggs and Rantisi, 2003; Jessop, 2001; Wood and Valler, 2001; Yeung, 2005). Additionally, it is consistent with a relational conception of power exploring the outcomes and effects of social practices (Allen, 2003; Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004; Hay, 2002; Jessop, 1996; 2008a; 2008b; Coles and Church, 2007). On these grounds, the SRA (see Figure 8.1) is promoted as a conceptual framework able to improve the analysis and interpretation of tourism governance by linking description, theory and explanation (Hall and Jenkins, 2004).

The employment of the SRA also entails a fresh perspective on the institutional analysis of tourism. For Jessop (2001), institutions matter when their properties make a difference to the issue in question, and hold explanations for the emergence and recursive reproduction of structures securing a kind of order (structured coherence) or the lack of it (patterned incoherence). In considering dialectical (Harvey, 1995) or reciprocal

interactions (Peters, 2005), the paradigm of 'New Institutionalism' (NI) advances a relational-evolutionary perspective on the interplay of structure and agency whereby institutional arrangements are conceptualized as the amalgam of both formal and informal conventions and processes. These processes and conventions expand within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus, establish interrelationships among actors, and shape the formulation and implementation of tourism policy and planning (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b; Healey, 2006a; Jessop, 2001; 2008a; 2008b).

Figure 8.1: A Strategic Relational Approach to the Governance of Tourism Development in Athens



Source: Adapted from Hay (2002: 131)

With the analysis of the SRA being situated in specific spatio-temporal contexts (Jessop, 1996), the momentarily transient examination of the dialectic of structure and agency can ignore neither the past nor the future. Jessop (2005a) observes that the SRA pays attention to the sensitivity of spatio-temporal contexts to history (path-dependence) and their ability to influence the course of future developments (path-shaping). Additional elements that enhance the explanatory vigour of the SRA are considered its propensity to reject the

dichotomy of material and ideational factors along with the conception of power as conduct- and context-shaping (Hay, 2002). The former conflates the discussion of power with the genuine interest of the SRA for actors' perceptions and assumptions, while the latter relates to an understanding of policy networks as “*strategic alliances forged around a common agenda of mutual advantage through collective action*” (Hay, 1998: 38). In this respect, policy networks co-exist with other institutions (e.g. the core of the public sector) and modes of coordination, and together shape the governance of tourism development.

Building on these theoretical notions and data analysis findings, this chapter operationalizes the SRA to tourism governance in Athens. The discussion begins with an overview of the groups of strategic actors in terms of their roles, interests, resources, relations, and perceptions. On the basis of strategic capacities, the intuitive or explicit calculations involved in the formulation of strategic actions are examined and lead the analysis to the effects of these actions (Hay, 2002). While it is understood whether these processes enable actors to learn from their experiences and improve future tactics, it is not also ignored the nature and transformation of the tourism policy-institutional context. Attention is drawn to the strategically selective characteristics of the tourism policy-institutional context as well as to its appeal and influence to strategic actors. Hence, the discussion continues with an outline of the evolution of tourism development in Athens along with a critique of the impact of tourism policies and institutions a few years after the Olympic Games of 2004.

8.2 The Strategic Actors of Tourism Development

With the concept of strategy tightening the framework of the SRA, this section scrutinizes the behaviour of actors as they reflect on motives, draw on resources, and employ actions in their desire to pursue their goals and interests (Few, 2002). It does so while exploring the actors' relational and knowledge resources as well as their capacity to mobilize these resources in terms of institutional expedience and organizational efficiency and effectiveness (Healey *et al.*, 2003). In this respect, the SRA views the propensity of individuals and organizations to engage in working relationships with other actors. Emphasis is placed on the influence of perceptions and ideas as mutually essential factors for the mobilization of organizational resources (Hay, 1998; 2002). Not only is the conflation of material and ideational resources responsible for the nature of the context in question and existing strategic capacities (path-dependence), but also underlies the products of strategic actions which transform the actors' capacities and the context itself (path-shaping). The interpretive overview of these factors is the key in understanding power as both conduct- and context-shaping, and facilitates the subsequent interpretation of the tourism policy-institutional context.

8.2.1 Central Government Agencies

To summarize in one sentence the essence of government intervention in tourism development, the control of strategic powers does not a priori guarantee the effective delivery of tourism policy and the coordination of interrelated institutions. Rather, the more centralised the nature of tourism planning, particularly when considering the keen

interest of ministries and non-departmental bodies for the capital city, the more ponderous turns out to be the rationalization of processes shaping tourism development. Overlapping statutory powers frequently cause an institutional maze and lead to relative inertia, slow progress, and sterile initiatives. In Athens, these are key factors behind the state's long-term failure to convey a vision for tourism development, establish appropriate mechanisms for the monitoring of policy outcomes, and strengthen tourism collaboration.

The Strategic Capacity of Central Government Agencies

In terms of institutional and organizational resources, the strategic capacity of central government agencies remains under question due to the public sector's troublesome operation. The agencies of tourism public administration [i.e. the Ministry of Tourism Development (MINTD); the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO); and the Tourism Development Co (TDC)] have for a first time maintained for a considerable period of time their status and jurisdictions after the reform of 2004. Important challenges erode, however, the exercise of statutory powers. Blurriness in roles between the MINTD and GNTO in areas such as the monitoring of development laws and the coordination of sub-national tourism marketing encumber policy implementation and knowledge enhancement. Moreover, delays in policy-making relate to frequent changes in political and executive leadership. Policy makers admitted that changes in agenda setting occur not only when there is a new government, but, essentially, every time a new minister of tourism arrives with another team of consultants. This might be considered a realistic effect of the political system at hand, but still disrupts the operation of tourism public agencies and raises questions of institutional discontinuity in tourism policy delivery.

Insofar as tourism public agencies struggle with internal challenges, their strategic capacity is further questioned because of insufficient horizontal intra-governmental coordination. The approved expenditures of the MINTD are significantly smaller than the respective expenditures of other ministries, such as the ‘Ministry of Culture’ (MINCUL) and the ‘Ministry for the Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works’ (MINENV), as part of the state’s annual budgets. Yet, what really seem to impede the operation of tourism public administration are the numerous shared and overlapping tourism-related powers⁷⁸ with several ministries and agencies under ministries.

Certain examples validate the widespread belief that the MINTD is destined to be in a disadvantageous position, whenever it aims to undertake critical policy interventions. Problematic affairs, such as the much-debatable contribution of the MINTD to the preparation of the ‘Special Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development of Tourism’ (SFSPSDT) and its conflict with the ‘Ministry of Economy and Finance’ (MINECO) concerning subsidies for new five-star hotels in Athens, should not be merely conceived as outputs of occasionally ad-hoc inter-ministerial consultations. Rather, limited understanding of interrelationships in tourism development along with a generic weakness in the broad operation of the public sector discourage the establishment of intra-governmental channels of communication. In addition, statutory institutions are often overshadowed or superseded by the influence of politicians, and the progress (or not) of initiatives is much-dependent on particular personalities and inter-personal contacts. The result is often recriminations between the country’s major political parties as is the case with ongoing delays in the management of state-owned assets. The same issues have not enabled, however, a productive dialogue for the improvement of intra-governmental

⁷⁸ ‘Co-responsibilities’ was the actual translation of the term used by interviewees

coordination, the avoidance of tokenistic approaches, and the integration of local communities' aspirations into government plans. Hence, it is crucial to understand how central government agencies perceive the regional-local context in which they are believed to be key players because of Greece's political culture.

Understanding the Context

In a self-critical manner, senior executives and policy makers acknowledged during interviews that the central administration is mainly responsible for the deficiencies of tourism planning, and advocated the empowerment of partnerships at the regional level. Nevertheless, they were also sceptical about the roles of additional actors. Allegations and sharp comments about the false mentality of the private sector, the inadequate initiatives of local governments, and the political motives behind the protests of voluntary groups were not uncommon during these discussions.

From an institutional perspective, the fallacy of tourism planning lies in that the central state apparatus has not achieved to stimulate collaboration, as the operation of consultation bodies and coordination mechanisms has not met the expectations of civil society. Thus, it seems like a zero-sum game to criticize political pressure by tourism associations, when the operation of the official consultation body, that is the 'National Board of Tourism' (NBT) since 1998, is susceptible to the predisposition of each minister and its meetings do not follow a particular pattern. Likewise, it seems incompatible to point the finger to opposing municipal authorities and citizen groups along the waterfront, when the 'Organization of Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens' (OPEPA)

under the MINENV has failed or neglected to implement the law and establish a required monitoring and consultative committee. These observations are not supposed to cancel out the key institutional role of central government agencies. The majority of interviewees implied that this is one ‘reality’ that cannot easily change. However, the institutional superiority of national government agencies and the inconsistent nature of centralised tourism planning inevitably have an impact on action formulation.

Formulation and Effects of Strategic Actions

How the various actors articulate their strategies and actions can be seen as a consequence of their reflection on the opportunities and constraints embedded in any spatio-temporally specific context. Evidence from this case study indicates that the centre-right government of ‘New Democracy’ enjoyed a favourable environment for the modernization of tourism policy and planning after taking charge in March 2004.

More specifically, the establishment of the MINTD was promoted as a precursor to additional reforms, especially in land-use planning and tourism marketing. According to key policy documents like the ‘National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013’ (NSRF) and the SFSPSDT, contemporary policies and reforms were supposed to assist on the accomplishment of conventional objectives of tourism development in Greece, such as the reduction of seasonality and the further strengthening of employment, with adequate specialisation of measures and provisions at the regional level. The connection of Athens with forthcoming reforms was also favourable. First, the prospect and later on the legacy of the Olympic Games had reinforced, after years of stagnation, hopes for the rejuvenation

of tourism in the capital city. Second, the guidelines of the Lisbon strategy and the influence of European Union had made apropos debates over the enhancement of collaboration between state and non-state actors. Accordingly, the operation of various institutionalised consultation bodies, such as the NBT and the 'National Council for Spatial Planning' (NCSP), were promoted by the centre-right government as evidence of the modernization of governance procedures.

Despite these optimistic notes, it was observed a disparity between the strategy posed by the rhetoric of politicians and the tactics of government agencies. Whether or not this is a matter of political accountability or of deep structural challenges, it could be the subject of a future research focusing exclusively on the public sector's operation. In any case, there is not much suggesting the establishment of the MINTD was accompanied by plans and tactics for the co-existence of tourism public agencies and the organization of systematic consultations within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus. Likewise, ministerial references to the development of Athens as a competitive city-break destination did not lead to a strategic plan integrating the numerous policy instruments, institutions and actors. The later discussion of the policy-institutional context examines whose job the strategic planning of tourism development in Athens can properly be considered. There are two results, however, when internal challenges in tourism policy formation remain unaddressed by the political system and the public sector. Either the dispersal and overlaps of statutory powers become the main explanations for inertia and slow progress or habitual practices along with ad-hoc actions substitute the guidelines incorporated in policy documents and statutes.

Under these circumstances, controversy surrounds the transformation of the policy-institutional context shaping tourism development in Athens. Although Athens reappeared in the realm of tourism public policy after 2004, the practices of central government agencies did not inspire a long-term vision for tourism development in the city's wider area. Next sections discuss how this blurry picture has thrown into disarray relationships between state and non-state actors. The lack of strategic partnerships, however, is not the only worrying sign. Far more concerns arise from the perceived inability of central government agencies to undertake a comprehensive evaluation of their policies. In the absence of adequate monitoring mechanisms, their agendas and priorities shift every time a new political leadership takes charge. In addition, politicians can avoid addressing structural challenges and later on providing explanations for the lack of progress or reform failure. Thus, the improvement of knowledge seems like a key condition for both political accountability and reform success. As the following discussion indicates, knowledge improvement is also a prerequisite for the settlement of conflicts between national and local governments over the aspirations and targets of tourism policy.

8.2.2 Regional and Local Governments

Regional and local governments capitalize on different aspects of their institutional role to make an impact on tourism development. Indirectly, the representation and protection of local interests justifies the formulation of a variety of tactics whenever municipalities and prefectures feel to be excluded from decision-making for local projects by central government agencies. In terms of direct interventions, however, tourism-related projects and activities reproduce the fragmented pattern identified at the national level, when the

exercise of tourism-related powers is not the subject of competent organizational structures and systematic partnerships. Interestingly, a strategic component was more evident among indirect interventions, where political pressure is the main motive behind the building of networks and tactics. With the exception of the ‘Athens Tourism and Economic Development Company’ (ATEDC), which has an explicit mission for the enhancement of tourism development and collaboration, the disjointed participation of the rest of local governments stresses the necessity of partnerships between levels of administration on the basis of a common strategic vision.

The Strategic Capacity of Regional and Local Governments and the Nature of Strategic Actions

To understand the multifaceted intervention of regional and local governments, I have outlined the range of available resources and examined the ways in which these resources are utilised. For instance, the decentralised agency of the ‘Region of Attica’ is responsible for the distribution of funds on tourism-related projects through the management of the ‘Regional Operational Programme for Attica 2007-2013’ (ROPA). The Region does no longer maintain, however, a department dealing exclusively with tourism after the return of tourism-related licensing and supervisory powers to the GNTA in 2004. The most important attempt of tourism promotion at the region’s level lasted for only two years (2005-2006) with rumours but no specific plan for a repeated initiative since then. Moreover, the divergence of views with the tourism public administration upon funded activities is regarded as a sign of non-systematic consultations, albeit the tradition of European operational programmes has completed more than twenty years in Greece.

Additional organizations struggle with their organizational resources and the lack of partnerships while enjoying the control of funds and powers. For the prefectures of Athens and Piraeus, insufficient organizational structures and personnel question both the effectiveness and efficiency of the activities approved by the institutionalised 'Prefecture Tourism Promotion Committees' (PTPC). To add to the confusion created by the different regional-local initiatives through which parts of the wider area of Athens are promoted, interviewees from the prefectures considered unsuccessful the supervision and inadequate the coordination undertaken respectively by the GNTD and MINTD. The same interviewees also admitted their weakness in convincing the private sector to provide something more than its strictly advisory role in each PTPC.

The lack of vertical intergovernmental coordination on the basis of mutually agreed tourism policy objectives becomes even more evident at the municipal level. While elected officials in Piraeus aspire to develop the city as an international marine centre without looking forward to a partnership with the 'Piraeus Port Authority S.A.', the 'Hellenic Festival S.A.' and the 'Municipality of Athens' argue for their respective local cultural festivals. Similar conflicts arise every time the numerous tourism-related municipal powers overlap with the jurisdictions of central government agencies. This fragmentation increases the burden on prefectures and small municipalities, which are lacking in innovative activities.

Only the 'Municipality of Athens' with the ATEDC appears to address such challenges. As well as upgrading its organizational status to a municipal development company with enhanced structure and funding sources, the ATEDC has already put forward an integrated portfolio of activities of tourism marketing and promotion. Furthermore, it established

small-scale partnerships with tourism public agencies as well as a dialogue forum with tourism associations. Undoubtedly, there is still space for improvement, especially as the 'Municipality of Athens' and central government agencies need to work together to enhance the attractiveness of the Athens city centre. The ATEDC is currently, however, the only agency with an explicit strategic orientation underpinning the formulation of tourism-related actions.

It cannot also be ignored how local governments shape the tourism policy-institutional context by confronting the decision-making capacity of national authorities. Efforts to cancel out, delay, or drastically alter government plans for the development of state-owned property and large-scale projects signify a rather different form of involvement. Being sceptical about the long-term leases of public venues to the private sector, local governments raise issues of environmental protection and social rights, and manifest through a variety of tactics their disagreement to the perceived apathy of central government agencies to the desires of local communities.

Appeals to the 'Council of State', extreme and less extreme forms of activism, and, networking with citizen groups and environmental organizations are indicative examples of resistance tactics. The latter tactic represents policy networks, whose coherence is based on the desire of their members to influence the central state's decisions and practices. It is argued that all these manoeuvres and local networks are founded on an explicit strategic orientation. Insofar as municipalities and prefectures lack skills and resources to assume the management of marinas or the creation of the metropolitan park, they count on political pressure in order to promote the social value of state-owned assets and push government agencies toward less tokenistic approaches. Hence, local

governments commit themselves to a common agenda with other social actors, select tactics that will suit them best, learn from their successes and failures, adjust their tactics, and occasionally come to play this indirect role more effectively than the official one.

Effects of Strategic Action

The challenges that subvert the strategic capacity of regional and local governments explain their problematic contribution to tourism development along with limited strategic learning. Local officials were positive about the idea of tourism development in their areas of jurisdiction, albeit a growing apprehension about environmental and social impacts. Nevertheless, the direct interventions of individual authorities are destined to be fragmented, contradictory, and not necessarily fruitful, as long as a culture of partnerships between levels of administration is absent. This is the aftermath from the duplication of tourism promotion initiatives, whose individual effectiveness also remains under question in the absence of assessment techniques and well-equipped organizational structures. Interestingly, evidence from this study uncovers a string of similar overlaps in additional tourism-related policy areas such as culture and urban planning.

In conclusion, the underlying reason for the secondary role and fragile involvement of regional and local governments is that there is no glue to hold them together. Rather than working on the basis of a set of mutually agreed objectives, they view tourism strictly as part of their internal institutional agendas. To begin with the 'Region of Attica', tourism is only one among numerous economic and social sectors funded by the ROPA. With respect to the two prefectural administrations, their common link with the supra-prefecture

along with the supervision by the GNTTO have not led to partnerships that could rationalize the utilization of public funds, adopt the guidelines of the ‘Strategic Marketing Plan for Greek Tourism’ (SMPGT), and promote the wider area of Athens as a city-break destination. Likewise, the various municipalities struggle to capitalize on an impressive portfolio of tourism-related powers in the absence of competent organisational structures and intergovernmental coordination. A future research may investigate whether the ATEDC will continue strengthening its resources and evolve to a destination management organization. The same reasoning applies for the potential creation of a metropolitan structure that would assume the strategic coordination of this complex and highly fragmented tourism policy-institutional context at the regional level. Such a reform may also enable the further mobilization of resources by the private sector.

8.2.3 Tourism-Traders Associations

The private sector has played an indirect but instrumental role in the evolution of the tourism policy-institutional context. After years of consecutive changes in the structure of tourism public administration, lobbying activities carried out by the ‘Association of Greek Tourist Enterprises’ (AGTE), that is the coalition of tourism associations, persuaded the centre-right government to establish the MINTD in 2004. Additionally, tourism associations pushed further the government and achieved to see the revision of the development law as well as the preparation of the SFSPSDT and the SMPGT. Yet, this discussion has so far outlined the controversy and challenges overshadowing these reforms. Tourism and traders associations put forward all sorts of complaints for the operation and practices of the wider public sector, as they are exasperated by the partial

implementation and slow progress of reforms, or even sometimes by the **lack of them**. Along with tourism associations of a national scope, the ‘Attica-Athens Hotel Association’ (AAHA) and the traders associations of Athens and Piraeus expressed similar concerns in the case of the capital city’s wider area, which did not become the subject of a strategic plan for the development of tourism after 2004. For all these actors, the lack of partnerships and the private sector’s unwillingness to provide funds for tourism promotion are not accidental. Rather, they are justified by the perceived incapacity of the public sector to modernise its functions and address the complexities of tourism policy. Based on such perceptions, the contribution of tourism and traders associations is mainly advisory, but extensive lobbying takes place when necessary.

The Strategic Capacity of Tourism-Traders Associations and the Nature of Strategic Action

Apart from documented disappointment over the delivery of tourism public policy, **a** disparity in resources is also argued to have an impact on the strategic capacity of different segments of the private sector. Whereas the hoteliers and traders own regional associations in Attica, the great majority of tourism association have a national status. Regardless the cases in which most of their members reside in Athens, these associations deal with their sectoral issues and amplify their views about tourism policy and planning at the national level. The ‘Hellenic Association of Travel and Tourist Agencies’ (HATTA) and the hoteliers, which are represented by the ‘Chamber of Hotels’ (COH) along with the ‘Hellenic Hotel Federation’ and its regional branches like the AAHA, have a strong voice in the proceedings of tourism policy and put forward their own activities including

international networking, public relations, and tourism research. Thus, it is not accidental that the AAHA, the AGTE, the COH, and the HATTA were invited to participate in the board of directors of the ATEDC in an advisory capacity. Yet, there are also several smaller associations, which lack the resources to undertake sophisticated activities. When compared to hotel associations, available funds and facilities are not the only factors that put these organizations in a less prestigious position. Solidarity seems to be under question because more than one association often represents related professional fields.

Challenges in the mobilization of resources stem from the fragmentation of business interests along with behaviours that discourage the development of partnerships. Apart from the perceived by the public sector reluctance of ‘old-fashioned’ mentalities to change, possible explanations vary from conflicting interests, which preclude the identification of common objectives, to the president-centred nature of certain tourism associations and the negative influence of particular personalities. Whereas tourism associations always criticize the state’s practices, relevant interviewees recognized that the lack of unity undermines their capacity to negotiate with the state⁷⁹.

The nature of relationships with the public sector is another aspect affecting tourism associations. Given the disappointing output of institutionalised consultations, tourism associations collaborate with government agencies on an ad-hoc basis, as before the introduction of new legislation, the same way traders discuss with the municipalities of Athens and Piraeus. Even the advisory role of tourism associations in the board of directors of the ATEDC, however, does not negate that such efforts comprise fragile in

⁷⁹ Consistent with this observation was also the experience from the troublesome operation of the ‘Athens Conventions and Visitors Bureau’ and the lack of progress over the expansion of the ‘Chamber of Hotels’ towards a more inclusive representation.

their nature policy networks, forged around common but temporary agendas. The results of these efforts are questioned, because progress is hindered by frequent changes in the political leadership of tourism public administration or based on the effectiveness of inter-personal contacts. In considering that the tourism public administration and tourism associations have not yet found a formula for the mutual provision of funds for tourism marketing and promotion, after years of sporadic references and discussions, the lack of potent policy networks is understood.

Tourism associations base their desire to influence state decisions upon the belief that they know better what the country and its destinations need. Efforts to communicate ideas for tourism policy and protect business interests undoubtedly depend on the range of available resources. Whereas hoteliers intensified lobbying and achieved to suspend the provision of subsidies for new five-star hotels in Athens, smaller associations complain for the lack of progress in their own requests. Hence, many of them have gradually become members of the AGTE as a means of enhancing their individual voices, enabling innovation, and enjoying the benefits of integrated lobbying. The appreciation of the role of the AGTE derives from its efforts to build and promote a strategic agenda for the country's tourism development as well as to bridge gaps between tourism associations, in favour of those that lack the resources to prepare studies, organize conferences and directly get in touch with state officials. The intervention of the AGTE is not necessarily enough to automatically resolve disputes between individual associations, but it is seen as a positive step towards the establishment of unprecedented channels of communication.

Effects of Strategic Action

Although the various business groups have not yet achieved to persuade the public sector to coordinate its activities under a strategic vision for tourism development in Athens, there are some promising signs justifying the reinforcement of efforts by the private sector. The documented enthusiasm during the preparation of the SMPGT indicated that tourism associations understand the importance of strategic planning. Yet, the latest discouraging trends in the evolution of these policies have shown that serious conflicts and disappointment may sometimes be inevitable, when inter-organizational relationships are confined to the ad-hoc treatment of pending issues. The same reasoning applies when structural challenges in the operation of the public sector undermine the progress of reforms.

Important developments in the tourism policy-institutional context have come, however, from the ideas and influence of tourism associations. The influence of the AGTE was more than influential at the national level, where the establishment of the MINTD marked the beginning of additional reforms. Despite certain cases of controversy, these reforms confirmed the capacity of tourism associations to make a critical impact on tourism policy decision-making. At the regional level, the ATEDC was established after years of references by the AGTE and the AAHA to the necessity of a destination management organisation. This study demonstrated that there is still space for the enhancement of the role of the ATEDC and the strengthening of its relationships with the private sector. Nevertheless, one first step has been done, and the AGTE along with the AAHA aim to intensify their efforts to communicate their ideas for tourism development in Athens.

The rest of promising signs stem from the empowerment of the AGTE in terms of its capacity to shape and modernize the mentality of its members. The participation and

integration of several tourism associations into the AGTE has helped them to grasp the value of solidarity. Whether or not this will improve relationships or even enable mergers between associations of related professional fields, it could be the subject of future research. Yet, again, one step has been done towards the better understanding of the private sector's position within the tourism policy-institutional context. Tourism associations seem to grasp the ways in which integrated lobbying, on the basis of a strategic agenda instead of disjointed and ad-hoc initiatives, can improve their future tactics in promoting their ideas and influencing policy decision-making.

8.2.4 Voluntary Groups

As a response to the perceived unwillingness of government agencies to address environmental and social impacts of tourism development, environmental organisations and citizen groups employed tactics to disseminate their views and alter or hinder government plans. Environmental organizations led widespread protests against the submitted frameworks for spatial planning and sustainable development. Simultaneously, citizen groups⁸⁰ with a tourism-related agenda have been added during the last decade to several other citizen groups aiming to the protection of green and public spaces. Despite speculation over the left-wing orientations of such movements, it is argued that the controversy over the impacts of tourism development is not merely ideological. Rather, conflicts of ideology in the particular context are exasperated by the lack of strategic planning, which prevents systematic consultation between state and non-state actors as well as the resolution of conflicting policy aspirations between levels of administration.

⁸⁰ The agendas of citizen groups pertain to the public character of state-owned assets along the waterfront together with the preservation of the traditional character of archaeological sites and neighbourhoods in the city centre of Athens.

The Strategic Capacity of Voluntary Groups and the Nature of Strategic Action

With negative perceptions about their institutionally advisory capacity and certain limitations in the possession of organizational resources, voluntary groups aim to maximize benefits from their relational and knowledge resources. For environmental organizations, tourism is only one among several fields within their policy agenda. When consultations in the NCSP were deemed as fixed, however, the 'Hellenic Society for the Protection of the Environment and the Cultural Heritage' and the 'WWF Greece' were united with a variety of non-governmental organisations. Together, they undertook common initiatives like the staging of internet campaigns and one-day conferences, where they made known their arguments against the submitted SFSPSDT, and focused on the enhancement of lobbying. Likewise, individual citizen groups may struggle to acquire a particular site for their meetings or even to maintain their members in the light of unsatisfactory developments. However, the intensification of activism together with voluntary groups of a related agenda and the involvement in local politics were considered to contribute to collective morale and action effectiveness.

The very nature of actions employed by voluntary groups reflects their desire to bring about a revision of government plans, and empower their capacity in decision-making. The establishment of an elected metropolitan administration may enable in the future the devolution of strategic powers in regional planning and economic development, and transform the current dominance of central government agencies. Until then, however, voluntary groups feel that it is their own duty to go against a 'so-called' neo-liberal

philosophy in local economic development, which promotes the flow of profits to the private sector and of revenues to the public sector at the expense of environmental and social aspects. During the last decade and especially after 2004, voluntary groups more than once made a stand against the long-term leases of state-owned assets to the private sector. Their arsenal included appeals to the ‘Council of State’, forms of activism, propagation of ideas, involvement in local politics, and the building of networks with local governments. Apart from individual initiatives, the very existence of these networks was sometimes called into question because of internal arguments about the selection of tactics and the intensity of reactions. Issues of ideology and games of political balance were also considered to have an impact. Nevertheless, the perseverance and endurance of these networks come from their understanding that they lack the powers, skills and resources to assume the completion of influential projects. Thus, the influence of statutory institutions is their ultimate goal, as they reflect on the lack of systematic consultations with central government agencies and turn their attention to the sabotage of existing plans along with the exercise of political pressure toward less tokenistic approaches.

Effects of Strategic Action

In a similar fashion to tourism associations, voluntary groups have realized they can influence the tourism policy-institutional context. The actions of voluntary groups and local governments did not finally prevent the ratification of the SFSPSDT or modify the centre-right government’s plans for the metropolitan park at the site of the old airport. It must be remembered, however, that all these efforts reflected their determination to reject

playing the role of an observer, and react outside the usual realm of working relationships with central government agencies.

Hence, the results of their actions must not be exclusively assessed in terms of how many delays or even cancellations of projects they did cause. It is far more important whether their actions stimulated relevant debates. Since the return of the socialist party to power in October 2009, the new tenure has been accompanied by prime-ministerial pledges of replacing the SFSPSDT, reconsidering plans for the metropolitan park and adopting a new approach in the management of state-owned assets (PASOK, 2009; To Vima, 2009). Thus, voluntary groups and local authorities must have reasons to feel like claiming a moral victory. Even if these promises are not fulfilled, however, voluntary groups have acquired proper knowledge of what groups with similar agendas exist, what they can possibly achieve with activism or with appeals to the ‘Council of State’, and, basically, how they can put government agencies in a difficult position in the absence of systematic consultations. This kind of knowledge increases the self-confidence of voluntary groups and strengthens the influence of local communities. Yet, concerns remain on why the integration of complementary perspectives has to be the product of continuous conflicts rather than institutionalised consultations on the basis of a strategic agenda. Indeed, the lack of strategic planning is a key issue during the subsequent overview of the tourism policy-institutional context that builds on the key points of this section, as they are summarized in Figure 8.2.

Figure 8.2: A Strategic Relational Approach to the Actors of Tourism Development in Athens (Part A)

Groups of Strategic Actors	Strategic Capacity: Institutional, Organizational, Relational, and Knowledge Resources	Strategic Calculation: Formulation of Intuitive and Explicit Strategy within Context	Effects of Strategic Action: Strategic Learning and Partial Transformation of the Context
Central Government Agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Control of strategic institutional powers at both the national and regional level. Structural weaknesses and frequent changes in leadership undermine the operation of tourism public agencies. The documented dispersal and overlap of statutory powers undermines the delivery of tourism public policy due to insufficient horizontal intra- and vertical intergovernmental coordination. There are cases in which the influence of politicians and intra-personal contacts overshadows or supersedes statutory institutions. Scepticism about the roles and practices of other actors. Partnerships at the regional level are deemed necessary, but it is underlined the key role of central government agencies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The establishment of the 'Ministry of Tourism Development' was promoted by politicians as a precursor to additional tourism-related policy and governance reforms. Ministerial references to the development of Athens as a city-break destination in light of the Olympic legacy. Lack of tactics for the effective and systematic operation of institutionalised consultation bodies. Habitual practices and ad-hoc actions in the absence of a strategic plan integrating the actors, policies, and institutions shaping tourism development in Athens. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Athens reappeared in the realm of tourism public policy, but central government agencies did not inspire a vision for tourism development in the wider area. The lack of an explicit strategy and inadequate consultations make difficult relationships with the rest of state and non-state actors. Delays and failures in the delivery of reforms; recriminations between major political parties. The lack of adequate monitoring prevents the proper evaluation of policy outcomes and minimizes strategic learning. It also makes the formation of tourism policy susceptible to the influence of political administrations and does not ease conflicts between levels of administration and policy areas.
Regional and Local Governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Control of powers in policy areas like the management of European funds, tourism marketing, and culture, which, however, often overlap with the powers of central government agencies. Lack of strategic powers in urban planning and the management of state-owned property. Disparity of financial resources between Athens and the rest of municipalities. Lack of competent organizational structures with the exception of the ATEDC. Positive perceptions about tourism development but also apprehension about its environmental and social impacts. Challenges in relationships with central government agencies (e.g. for the upgrade of the Athens and Piraeus city centres). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Duplication of efforts and preparation of tourism-related actions strictly on the basis of the internal agenda of each authority. Ad-hoc and short-term initiatives in the absence of partnerships, assessment techniques, and financial resources by small municipalities. Strategy for the enhancement of tourism development and collaboration by the ATEDC, under the 'Municipality of Athens, with initiatives in the fields of tourism marketing and management. Tactics and policy networks against tokenistic approaches by government agencies in the management of state-owned property and large-scale projects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The contribution of regional-local governments remains secondary to that of central government agencies. Fragmentation of initiatives in the absence of a strategic vision and common objectives for tourism development in the capital city's wider area. Long delays in the progress of influential projects along the waterfront of Athens due to conflicts between government agencies and local authorities. Strengthening of policy networks between local authorities and voluntary groups. Grasp of the importance of regional partnerships. Attention to the evolution of the ATEDC and to the potential creation of a metropolitan administration.

Figure 8.2: A Strategic Relational Approach to the Actors of Tourism Development in Athens (Part B)

Groups of Strategic Actors	Strategic Capacity: Institutional, Organizational, Relational, and Knowledge Resources	Strategic Calculation: Formulation of Intuitive and Explicit Strategy within Context	Effects of Strategic Action: Strategic Learning and Partial Transformation of the Context
Tourism and Traders Associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frustration about the delivery of tourism policy and planning by the public sector. • Disparity in resources and fragmentation in the representation of tourism business interests. Hotels are the only sector represented by both a chamber (advisor of the state) and a national association. • The hoteliers and traders own regional associations in Attica. • Problematic relationships between tourism associations of related professional fields undermine the private sector's solidarity. • Relationships with public authorities are not based on a strategic agenda but on ad-hoc contacts in dealing with pending issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ad-hoc nature of relationships with the various levels of the state apparatus prevents the building of strong policy networks. • Lobbying tactics aim to influence the decisions of public authorities, but individual efforts are affected by the disparity in resources. • Integration of tourism associations into the AGTE, as a means to enhance their voice, enable innovation, and enjoy the benefits of integrated lobbying tactics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The private sector has not yet persuaded the various public authorities to coordinate their actions under a strategic vision for tourism development in Athens. • Yet, the efforts of the private sector led to the establishment of the ATEDC and to other reforms at the national level. • Empowerment of the AGTE, whose efforts have played a key role in the evolution of tourism policy. • Better grasp of the value of solidarity and collective lobbying on the basis of a strategic agenda.
Environmental Organizations and Citizen Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apprehension about the environmental and social impacts of tourism development. • Negative perceptions about the existing institutional advisory capacity of voluntary groups and the perceived unwillingness of government agencies to address environmental and social aspects in tourism-related policies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on the enhancement of relational-knowledge resources. • Tactics aiming to the revision of government plans and the empowerment of voluntary groups in decision-making (e.g. appeals to the 'Council of State', activism, involvement in local politics, and building of networks with local governments). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant delays in important projects but also stimulation of debates about the environmental and social aspects of tourism-related policy issues. • Voluntary groups understand that they can make an impact on tourism-related policy issues and react to tokenistic approaches by government agencies.

8.3 The Strategically Selective Policy-Institutional Context of Tourism Development

The SRA was employed in the first part of this chapter to integrate research findings about the actors' perceptions and actions, and construe their interventions in the tourism policy-institutional context. It is now equally important to integrate knowledge from previous chapters of the rules, ideas, customs, episodes, and processes surrounding the delivery of tourism policy and planning. In strategic-relational terms, these attributes are argued to incorporate valuable knowledge not only about the synthesis of different types of institutional arrangements at the spatio-temporal coincidence in question. More importantly, institutional analysis is equipped with data about the origins of present conditions (path-dependence) and the determinants of future developments (path-shaping). Furthermore, the concept of power is explored through the outcomes and effects of social practices, which come from both the influence of actors alongside various structural opportunities and constraints underlying the context in which the actors are embedded and operate (Goverde and Tatenhove, 2000; Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2008a). Thus, the concept of power is converted through institutional analysis into an explanatory tool in understanding the nature of coherence or the lack of it (patterned incoherence), while conclusions can be drawn about the nature of governance.

Evolution of Tourism Development

Although certain moments distinguish the stages of its evolution, the diachronic development of Athens as a tourism destination has not been the subject of strategic tourism planning including a shared vision, integration of relevant policies, and well-

structured procedures for the enhancement of coordination within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus. The particularities of Athens as the capital city, most developed area, and, perhaps, the most notable heritage destination of Greece are still the main sources of tourism appeal. However, challenges surrounding the delivery of tourism policy along with the lack of visionary policy networks and adequate consultations between state and non-state actors have prevented the formation of a strategy that would build on the multifaceted character of the wider area's tourism product.

It is understood that the city's cultural heritage for long comprised the main tourism attraction as well as a pretext for the lack of an explicit strategy. From the travellers of the 18th and the 19th centuries to the mass tourists during the early period of tourism development in Greece, Athens had consistently been a key option for any visitors either as the main destination or as a stop-over on the way to other Greek resorts. Growth rates of tourism overnights in Athens demonstrated the first signs of stagnation in the late 1970s'. The rising trend of summer holidays at the expense of cultural visits, the oversupply of hotel facilities, environmental degradation, and the changing priorities of tourism policy had signified the beginning of decline by the middle 1980s' (OPEPA and NTUA, 1998; Spartidis, 1989). In the face of these significant challenges, the ratification of the 'Athens Master Regulatory Plan' (AMRP) in 1985 coincided with the establishment of the status of saturation in the biggest part of Attica in 1986. Together, these statutes indicated the necessity for the restructuring of the city's tourism development and the reverse of negative trends. Yet, the policy measure of saturation was merely of a regulatory nature. Moreover, the AMRP did not enable crucial projects and urban interventions for almost ten years, insofar as Greece was experiencing a period of political instability and the capital city was struggling with severe environmental degradation.

While the declining trends of tourism in Athens were dissimilar to the respectively positive national trends, another oxymoron overshadowed the revival of tourism in the civic agenda after the successful bid in 1997 for the hosting of the Olympic Games of 2004. The upgrade of transport, cultural, sport, hotel, and special tourism infrastructure was promoted by politicians as an opportunity for the recovery of tourism in Athens. However, evidence from this case study suggests that the Olympic coincidence did not set in motion orchestrated efforts for tourism development in the capital city's wider area. In this respect, the improvement of hotel occupancies and tourism overnights in Athens after 2004 proved to be temporary and did not meet certain expectations. According to the following discussion, it can be said that the development of the tourism destination did not imitate the successful post-Olympic example of Barcelona. Athens inherited the effects of fierce political controversy along with the absence of explicit objectives, partnerships, and substantial links between interrelated tourism policy areas and levels of administration.

Negative Influence of the Political System

Given that the staging of the Olympic Games was seen as a promising occasion for the recovery of tourism in Athens, the lack of a strategy on behalf of government agencies also related to shifts in government and political disputes between the country's major parties. The centre-right government that came to power in 2004 accused its socialist predecessors of lacking a plan for the utilisation of Olympic venues after 2004 and adopting suspicious practices in the management of tourism public property. Conversely, the socialist opposition confronted these allegations by rejecting the 'so-called' neo-liberal approach in the management of state-owned assets. Sometimes, it can be really difficult to

delve into these recriminations and distinguish essential differences between the ideas and practices of these political parties. Yet significant challenges in the delivery of tourism policy and planning are illustrated by the diachronic failure of the tourism public administration to work with different political administrations at the local level for the development of Athens as a city-break destination, and more recently to deliver the respective guidelines of the SMPGT. These challenges appear to transcend the realm of one political party, and uncover well-embedded constraints in the tourism policy-institutional context.

Policies of Tourism Governance

This case study indicated that the performance of the rich portfolio of tourism-related policy instruments suffers from the lack of integration into a framework of explicit aspirations and objectives at the regional level. Tourism development in Athens stems from either the specialisation of national policy instruments, which tend to favour and discourage tourism development between different geographical zones, or the institutional compliance of regional plans and activities with national guidelines and legislation. Furthermore, hierarchical and sectoral interrelationships shape tourism policy preparation and implementation between levels of administration and policy areas. However, the delivery of conventional national objectives does not necessarily echo the requirements and particularities of individual destinations, especially in the absence of regional strategies and adequate monitoring mechanisms. Weaknesses in addressing and building on the regional and multifaceted character of the tourism product of Athens are believed to derive from the lack of policy integration.

More specifically, there has not been an explicit strategy for the development of Athens as a city-break destination. While the ratified SFSPSDT currently remains under question by the socialists, consecutive delays in the revision of the AMRP undermine regional tourism planning and the progress of influential projects. Without clear links in between regional planning and development policies, the lack of a strategy also blurs the provision of incentives for new hotels, targets in terms of hotel occupancies and revenues, and the utilisation of European funds through the ROPA 2007-2013. Furthermore, relative inertia or slow progress mark the discovery of solutions in what concerns the restructuring of the waterfront of Athens, the overlapping activities of tourism promotion, and the variety of pending tourism management issues at both the national and regional levels. For the development of tourism in the capital city of Greece, the result is a fluid and disordered governance context in which even the innovative initiatives of the ATEDC cannot respond to the entirety of issues and interrelationships, and foster criticism of their actual contribution by tourism associations.

The post-Olympic coincidence inspired great expectations without, however, a persistent debate about necessary actions. Interviewees from the tourism public administration noted that their agencies are not responsible for preparing tourism development plans for specific destinations. That is an interesting viewpoint, which, however, remains susceptible to the centralised nature of tourism planning in Greece and the capital city's particularities. Rather than being addressed in a consensual manner, the lack of strategic tourism planning in the case of Athens is seen as a corollary of these particularities along with the questionable performance of institutions.

Institutional Arrangements of Tourism Governance

In considering the path-dependent attributes of the governance of tourism development in Athens, its nature is based on institutional arrangements that reflect the predominant role of central government agencies. Institutional arrangements, whose origin and evolution depend on the official operation of the state apparatus (statutory perspective), are distinguished from those which ensue from working relationships among/between state and non-state actors on the basis of a common agenda of mutual advantage (policy network perspective). While the former category reveals how governments regulate the planning and implementation of tourism policy, the latter mainly examines the ways in which tourism associations and voluntary groups develop working relationships with each other and sometimes with local governments in order to influence the central state's decisions and practices. The various social actors are unhappy both with the performance of the public sector and its zeal to consult with them on a systematic basis, but the predominant institutional role of government agencies is a realistic appraisal of the particular context. It was shown that policy networks have positive effects on the capacity of non-state actors and on inter-organizational relationships between individual tourism associations, environmental organizations, and citizen groups. Yet the influence of statutory institutions is the underlying reason of their creation, regardless they aim to support or oppose official tourism policy decision-making. Hence, policy networks are seen in this study as complementary institutions to the total of powers, interrelationships, and consultation bodies coming from legislation.

The case of Athens as the country's capital city further exemplifies the predominant role of central government agencies and the complexity surrounding strategic tourism planning. With numerous government agencies controlling tourism-related powers even exclusively within the wider area of Athens, institutional overlaps and insufficient horizontal intra- and vertical intergovernmental coordination exacerbate from the absence of an agency that would assume strategic tourism planning at the regional level. This debate revolves around two themes. Firstly, it relates to concerns over the capacity of tourism public agencies to enhance their intervention in tourism policy at the national level. More importantly for this case study, however, it also has strong links with prospects for the establishment of a directly elected metropolitan administrative structure in Attica. This forthcoming administration is supposed to be equipped with strategic powers in regional planning and economic development. For interviewees from all interest groups, the problem lies in that it is difficult to foresee how any Greek government can stop seeing the capital city as "*belonging to the whole nation*" (Sykianaki and Palla, 2004: 19), and set in motion such a pioneering and demanding initiative in the midst of unfavourable economic conditions. Thus, it seems to be futile any strategic effort at the regional level that does not presume a systematic partnership with central government agencies.

The institutional analysis of the governance of tourism development in Athens requires an overview of how the various actors relate to the wider picture. Statutory institutions hold the key for tourism policy preparation and implementation, but their practices exhibit a pattern of inconsistency. Overlaps, behaviours and problematic structures discourage the cultivation of a culture of partnerships. For the numerous government agencies and their political leaderships, tourism development in Athens after 2004 was an attractive aspect

of their individual policy agendas. However, it did not become the subject of an integrated effort that would produce a concrete plan with specific objectives and a distribution of roles. Challenges in the operation of the public sector have undermined prospects for the improvement of consultations and partnerships. The disappointing operation of the NBT is only one example in which concerns for political accountability also surfaced, as it is not uncommon for political leaderships to avoid addressing and dealing with these internal challenges or not to give account for the lack of progress. Likewise, local officials were positive for tourism development in their areas of jurisdiction, but pointed the finger to the central government whenever they were unable to make a notable contribution. Questionable for their effectiveness and efficiency initiatives were regarded as a consequence of weak coordination. Moreover, conflicts were justified when municipalities felt their worries and aspirations were not integrated into government plans. This is not to suggest that everything is done perfectly by local governments, because their structures face similar operational challenges to those of central government agencies. Across the levels of public administration it is apparent, however, a difficulty in building consensus with non-state actors during policy-making, albeit the recognition of the value of coordination in policy texts and legislation.

Additionally, policy networks contribute to strengthening relationships between non-state actors, although they have not yet enabled serious alliances with the public sector. The case-study of Athens did not reveal successful collaborative initiatives beyond the scope of what can be achieved by lobbying central government agencies and local governments. The integration of tourism associations under the auspices of the AGTE indicates how highly the value of effective lobbying is regarded, especially in the absence of systematic consultations with government agencies and even though individual associations do not

always maintain the best of relationships with each other. At the regional level, however, the co-participation of the 'Municipality of Piraeus' with local actors in the 'Informal Council of Piraeus' as well as the advisory capacity of tourism associations in the board of directors of the ATEDC have not yet boosted tourism collaboration. The value of solidarity is also recognized in policy networks between voluntary groups and local governments against the plans of central administration. The underlying reason for these networks is again the influence of statutory institutions. Voluntary groups claim they seek a balance between economic objectives and the protection of local interests in terms of environmental and social impacts, albeit references to an extremely leftist attitude by other actors. As these policy networks gradually evolve and enhance the capacity of their members, the most important outcome is not necessarily gaining confidence that they can influence the decision-making capacity of government agencies. What mostly matters is whether interest groups can persuade the state to engage in a more strategic and inclusive approach in tourism policy decision-making.

This study did not regard the discussion of powers as exclusively susceptible to the control of different resources such as the institutional prevalence of national government agencies. In strategic-relational terms, the institutional analysis of tourism governance in Athens indicated that the transformation of the tourism-policy context is the outcome of alliances and conflicts. As opposed to the crucial but problematic involvement of central government agencies in tourism development, the rest of actors look forward to influencing centralised practices in tourism policy-making and implementation. What explicates, however, the sense of incoherence is the lack of strategic plans and potent partnerships between the state and civil society, which is further analysed in the final chapter of the thesis.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter operationalized the conceptual framework of the SRA to the institutional analysis of the governance of tourism development in Athens. The aim was to add theoretical and explanatory depth in the previous description of tourism policy and planning trends. This institutional analysis was based on a relational view of interactions among/between actors and structures, and explored how this interplay has shaped over time tourism development in Athens. It also investigated the concept of power through the outcomes and effects of social practices, where the various actors reflect on their resources and ideas, formulate strategies and tactics, and draw on their experiences as a means of improving future actions. With the capital city of Greece enjoying a prominent position in the policy agendas of numerous state actors, non-state actors promote tourism-related issues and call for better coordination. It is understood, however, that the centralised and fragmented nature of tourism policy and planning in Greece suffers from well-embedded weaknesses. Emphasis was placed on the incapacity of the policy-institutional context in question to set in motion explicit strategies on the basis of an authentic dialogue and mutually agreed objectives, inspire the development of visionary policy networks between state and non-state actors, and monitor policy outcomes in a systematic manner. According to this case-study, the lack of a culture of partnerships has had a critical influence on the long-term controversial evolution of tourism development in Athens. It has also prevented the integration of actors and different forms of resources under the umbrella of a common vision.

Hence, the lack of strategic planning relates to the existence of policy networks whose main concerns are the indirect influence of or even the opposition to the practices of

central government agencies. There is not much to suggest an easy path for improving the contribution of policy networks to policy making, as long as the public sector struggles with its structural challenges, the private sector remains frustrated by the lack of significant progress, and voluntary groups put forward their scepticism about environmental and social impacts. As this evidence corroborates the idea that the rise of policy networks does not necessarily entail the emergence of good governance practices, the next chapter concludes this thesis by providing answers to the study's objectives, discussing research limitation, and assessing theoretical contributions to the research area of tourism policy and planning.

Chapter Nine: Discussion

9.1 Introduction

The performance of institutional ensembles and modes of coordination is the underlying reason for studying the complexity of tourism policy and planning. Focusing on tourism development in Athens, this thesis set out to reflect on the transition from ambiguous political accounts of tourism to a growing interest in theory-informed studies. Influenced by the paradigm of New Institutionalism (NI), I drew attention to contemporary connotations of institutional arrangements and ideas on how to develop knowledge on institutions in specific spatio-temporal contexts. Additionally, I argued that a relational-evolutionary perspective has potential to delve into the complex and dynamic nature of tourism policy and planning. From a ‘New Institutionalist’ point of view, the key lies in understanding the performance of institutional configurations through the mix of different and changing forms of institutions and modes of coordination along with the roots of their place-embedded particularities.

When considering the small legacy of institutional analysis in political studies of tourism during the last thirty-years, the relational-evolutionary perspective possibly constitutes an affirmative response to the idea of a methodological institutional turn (Jessop, 2001). This scenario promotes the re-assessment of the position and utility of institutions in the research of tourism policy and planning. To scrutinize the multi-faceted and multi-scalar aspects of institutional configurations one has to bind material and ideational factors together in an analytical manner, and examine the changing outputs of their interplay. Of

course the conduct of social research in the field of tourism is susceptible to limitations. I believe, however, that retaining and updating a relational-evolutionary perspective on political subjects, like the governance of tourism development, facilitates the construction of explanatory narratives. Hence, this thesis introduced the conceptual framework of the ‘Strategic-Relational Approach’ (SRA) to suggest a holistic conception of tourism governance, guide the conduct of relevant research in the case study of Athens, and pervade the literature of tourism with political science themes and a modern version of the structure-agency debate.

This concluding chapter capitalizes on case study findings to reflect on the thesis aims and objectives, as presented in Chapter One, and discuss lessons from their completion. This chapter is divided into two parts. Firstly, I revisit the case study context and highlight key points and implications for the governance of tourism development in Athens. Secondly, I appraise the foundations for the operationalization of the SRA in the research area of tourism policy and planning. The conceptual framework is judged on its contribution to generating a theory-based institutional account of tourism policy and planning processes, and improving understanding of secondary themes such as policy networks and power effects. Crucially, I engage in both these debates without ignoring to identify study limitations and discuss directions for future research.

When I write these lines, however, at the beginning of 2011, nothing in Athens reminds one of the optimism induced by the staging of the Olympic Games in 2004. The country’s modern economic and socio-political environment has been for the last two years in an unprecedented predicament. The first signs of concern surfaced due to the global financial crisis that has driven since 2007 many advanced economies to recession, whose

repercussions to global tourism have lately come under the lens of academic scrutiny (Bramwell and Lane, 2009; Hall, 2010; Papatheodorou *et al.*, 2010). More recently, Greece also holds the unenviable privilege of being regarded as one of the ‘PIGS’⁸¹. Possibly, that is the least harmful consequence of a series of serious developments that occurred from 2008 to 2010⁸². Tourism in Greece has not escaped unscathed. In Athens, strikes and protests quite often nowadays alter the regular pace of life, businesses shut down, and criminality suffuses the wider city centre (SOI, 2010; Mail Online, 2010). While investing in tourism-related infrastructure is not a panacea to the sector’s development, especially when the cost of hosting the Olympics exacerbates difficulties in the management of state finance (Hall, 2010), the debate on how to develop tourism in a methodical and resilient manner is once again apropos in Greece (The Guardian, 2010). Hence, the extent to which this thesis can comprise a minor contribution to clarifying the main challenges of tourism governance in Athens is another concern for this final chapter.

⁸¹ ‘PIGS’ is a grouping acronym, used occasionally by international media from 2009 onwards, of the four European countries (Portugal, Ireland, Greece, and Spain) involved in the late crisis of sovereign debts.

⁸² Major events included the explosive youth protests in December 2008, which unfolded scenes of widespread unrest for a first time since the restoration of democracy (BBC, 2008a; Economides and Monastiriotis, 2009) and allowed international media to propagate that tourists should avoid visiting the capital city unless they were willing to “*pack a gas mask with (their) bikinis*” (BBC, 2008b). In addition, the levels of government deficit and debt became unmanageable in the light of the repercussions of the global financial crisis and domestic political misconduct. As a result, Greece became the weakest link of the Eurozone, and the International Monetary Fund’ arrived in Athens in May 2010.

9.2 Lessons from the Case Study of Athens

This study gathered data from diverse actors, subfields of tourism policy, and levels of administration. In so doing, it shed light on the nature of tourism governance and illustrated the complexity of tourism politics in Athens. The particular case study basically comprises a detailed narrative of research findings concerning “*what happened, how it happened, why it happened, and who was responsible*” in the particular research setting (Chambers and Airey, 2001: 117). The interpretation of facts and events has been framed around the following idea, as it was thoroughly discussed in Chapter Three; the performance of tourism governance pertains to the diachronic competence of institutional arrangements and ensembles, across and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus, to coordinate and order the practices and processes of tourism policy and planning.

This interpretive effort represents more than a re-assessment of the changing roles of groups of actors such as government agencies, the regional and local tiers of public administration, and interest groups from the private and voluntary sectors. Crucially, it concurs with a late tradition in the political analysis of tourism (Dredge, 2001; 2006a; 2006b; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a; 2007b; Kerr, 2003; Pforr, 2005; Treuren and Lane, 2003; Tyler and Dinan, 2001a). Work within this segment of literature has sought to explore patterns of consensus and conflict caused by “*the mutual constitution and evolution of economic, cultural, and political forms and practices and their varied institutional expressions*” (Wood and Valler, 2001: 1141). In similar terms, what this thesis demonstrated is how place-embedded structures, behaviours, and multi-scalar interactions together shape processes of institutionalisation within the political geography

of tourism. In addition, the discussion in literature review explained why the performance of tourism governance in spatio-temporally specific (and well-defined) research contexts is susceptible to the preservation or transformation of the qualities of different institutional expressions (Jessop, 2001).

In this respect, the SRA did not merely guide institutional analysis through its particular viewpoint on the dialectic of structure and agency. Crucially, the conceptual framework substantiated the assumption underlying my effort to bridge the study of tourism politics with contemporary themes of political science; that is, how helpful a relational-evolutionary perspective on the elements and processes of tourism policy and planning can be in building knowledge on the past, present, and future of tourism governance. Since “*governance is produced in and through institutions*” (Goodwin and Painter, 1997: 22), the relational-evolutionary perspective operates as an explanatory leverage for the constitution and operation of institutional arrangements including material and ideational forms, formal and informal constructions. The synthesis of embedded activities and structural conditions does not portray an instantaneous reflection of disconnected and static events. Instead, the extent to which a research context of tourism governance can be described as stable or changeable is largely dependent on dynamic processes at each moment and over time.

According to the NI paradigm and the rationale of the relational-evolutionary perspective, the multi-faceted ensembles of tourism politics express the inter-subjective nature of institutional arrangements throughout an iterative geographical and historical process (Dredge, 2001; Hay, 2002; Wood and Valler, 2001). On the one hand, place- and time-specific contexts emerge from the interactions of organisations and structures that span

across policy areas, levels of administrations, spatial scales, groups of stakeholders, forms of resources, and cultural values. On the other hand, the attributes embedded in the same contexts are recursively seen as the outcomes of past developments (path-dependence) and the engines of future changes (path-shaping). Thus, the perceived contribution of the relational-evolutionary perspective increases while clarifying the multifarious and shifting nature of tourism politics.

Within the conceptual framework of the SRA, however, the theorisation of the relational-evolutionary perspective through the concept of strategy provides further insight into the fundamental constituents of tourism governance. Examples of such themes are the performance and evolution of institutional arrangements and ensembles, the margins of individual and collective reflexivity, the stratification of power, and the potential of policy networks as an alternative mode of coordination. Throughout this research these have been key themes enclosing information on the imprint of tourism governance, which was conceived as *‘the complex art of steering multiple agencies, institutions, and systems, involved in the practices and processes of tourism policy and planning, which are operationally autonomous from one another and structurally coupled’* (based on Jessop, 1997; cited in Thiel, 2009: 226). In short, the theorisation of the relational-evolutionary perspective through the SRA enabled this study to advance the exploration and interpretation of themes and concepts of political science in the research area of tourism policy and planning. In respect to the case study of Athens, emphasis was placed on the coupling of actors and tourism-related institutions within and beyond the boundaries of Greek state apparatus. Hence, the theorisation of the relational-evolutionary perspective through the SRA also uncovered how the constitution and iterative coupling of institutional ensembles and modes of coordination shaping the development of tourism in

Athens outlines a configuration of patterned incoherence and governance failure, which is not directly understandable without a good grasp of context-specific values and ideas.

The Material Illusion of Structured Coherence

As a construction of socio-political struggle, the existence (or not) of socio-political order is dialectically attached to the everlasting interplay of facts and ideas. Knowledge on the institutional configuration of tourism governance in Athens reveals that any spatio-temporally static depiction of the material world can only be partially informative without a recording of the perceptions and values surrounding the research setting in question. I came to this conclusion while discovering the controversial images reflected by the identification and mapping of policy tools and institutional arrangements against the ideas underlying the same structures.

To clarify this point, it is important to understand what Jessop (2001; 2005; 2008a; 2008b) describes as ‘structured coherence’. Being part of the broad theorisation of the SRA to institutions, it is defined as the production of “*a relatively stable order out of a potentially unstructured complexity*” (Jessop, 2001: 1225) that arises through “*the (continuing) reciprocal interaction between structurally inscribed strategic selectivity and structurally oriented strategic calculation*” (Jessop, 2008a: 46). Insofar as the structural conditions of a specific context do not alter radically after the formation of strategic calculation and action, the reproduction and longevity of their configuration are ensured. This leads to a genuine but also fragile socio-political order, which varies according to the contextual imprint of learning skills and reflexivity. While marginalized

actors look forward to improving tactics and overcoming structural constraints, actors in an advantageous position aspire to renew their skills in making the most of structural opportunities and deciding the level of access to benefits for others. Thus, the susceptibility of ‘structured coherence’ seems to be a matter of socio-political struggle and power effects, which stem from the dialectic of structure and agency. According to Jessop (2008a: 46-47):

“One form that such structured coherence can take is the formation of a ‘historical bloc’, that is, the mutually implicated, structurally coupled, and historically co-evolving ensemble of economic, political, and socio-cultural relations, the construction of which depends on the activities of organic intellectuals and collective projects as well as on the gradual and emergent co-adaptation of institutions and conduct.”

Only a few years after the staging of the Olympic Games of 2004 evidence from Figures 9.1 and 9.2, presented in Chapter Six, suggests that the policy-institutional context shaping tourism development in Athens instils a sense of order. The figurative synthesis of interactions between policies, organizations, and institutions that span across policy areas and levels of administration represents an ideal metaphor for how the material world and the specific context (does or should) work. It meets the criteria of the conception of a historical bloc in which ambitious plans, complex structures, and relational processes delineate the realm of tourism politics. It also highlights the multi-scalar articulation of land-use planning and tourism marketing as well as the multifarious agenda of tourism development and management in the case of a tourist-historic and capital city in Southern Europe.

Figure 9.1: Policies Shaping Tourism Development in Athens

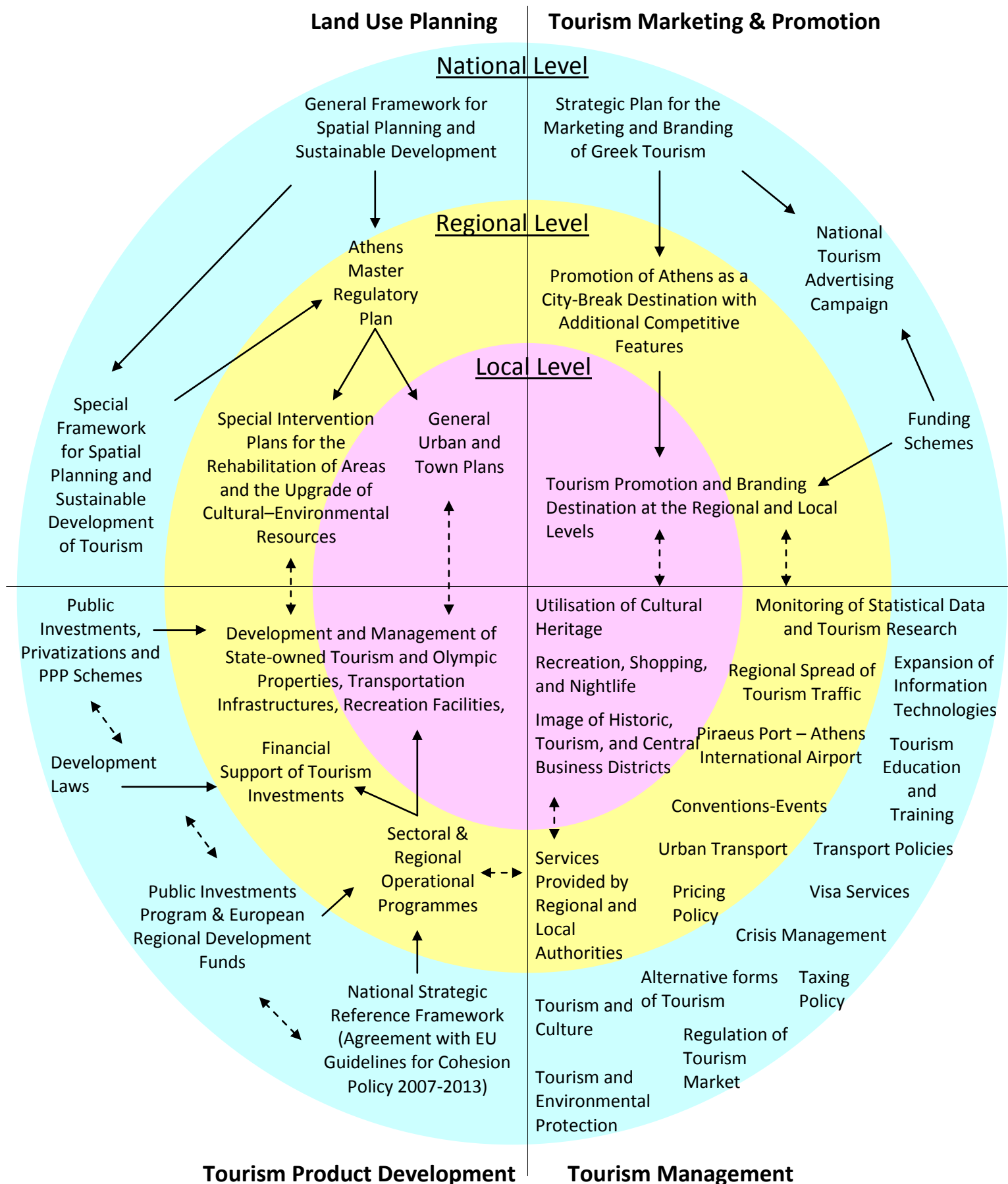
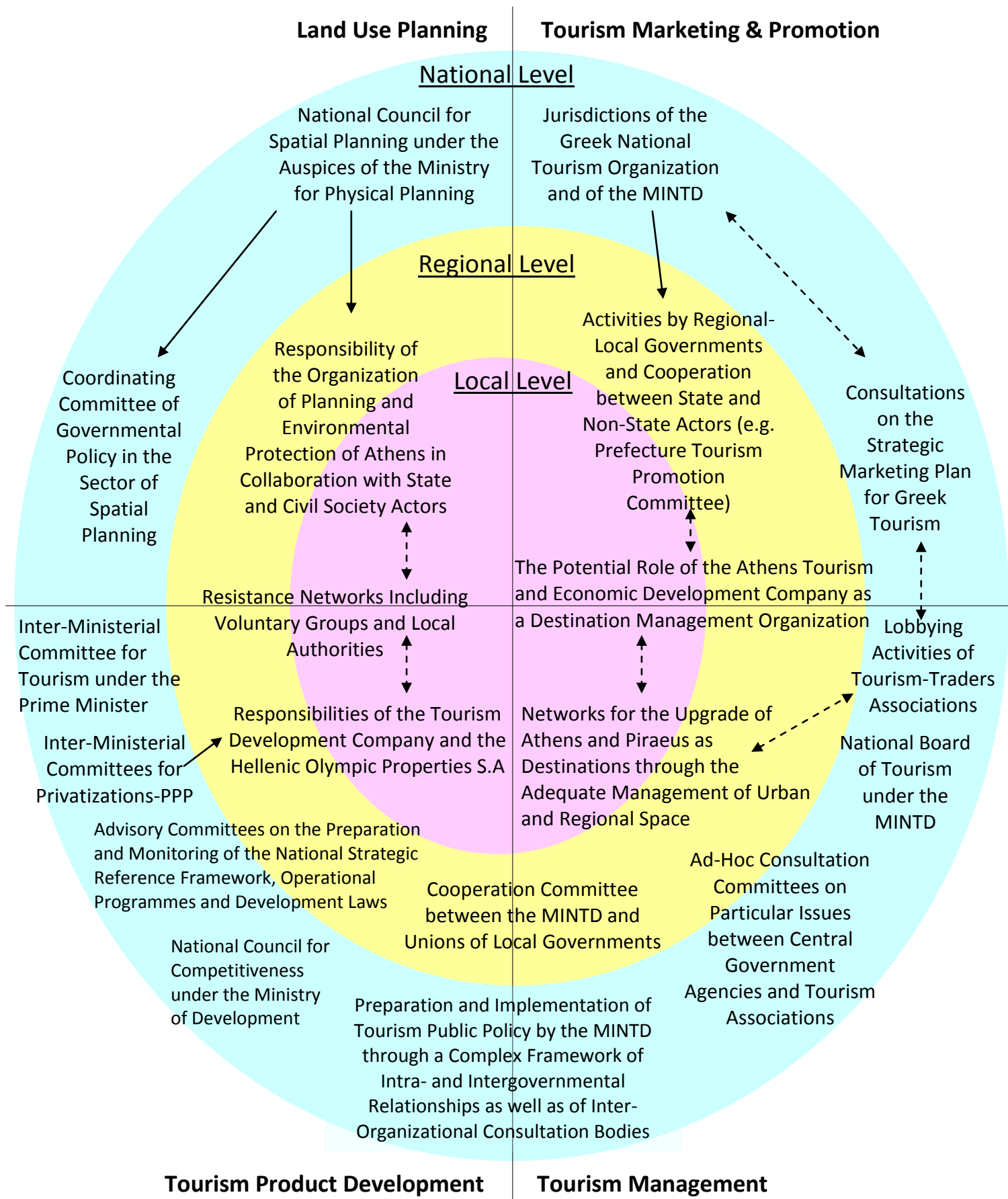


Figure 9.2: Institutional Arrangements Shaping Tourism Development in Athens



In terms of public policy-making and implementation, tourism development in Athens involves a variety of policy frameworks such as statutes, action plans and public services, whose instruments emerge from hierarchical and inter-sectoral linkages between levels of administration and policy areas. Together, these frameworks and instruments set out the multifarious agenda of tourism politics that affects the products and aspects of urban tourist experience. The same agenda envelops the total of consensual and conflicting aspirations with respect to economic, environmental, and socio-cultural impacts. Whereas data analysis corroborated that tourist-historic multifunctional cities face serious policy challenges in pursuing a path of competitiveness and sustainability (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Hinch, 1996; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2007), the static and spatio-temporally indicative map of tourism public policy in Figure 9.1 provides only partial insight into these challenges. Ironically, a sense of coherence surfaces from the ostensibly smooth coexistence of policy frameworks. The dissonance lies in the apparent absence of a strategic plan with guidelines and objectives for the development of tourism in Greece's most prestigious urban centre and its wider region. In fact, what renders uncertain this sense of coherence is the fact that the functional integration of tourism policy depends on the specialisation of national provisions at the regional-local level rather than on the messages of a clear vision for Athens itself.

An equally deceptive sense arises from the depiction of institutions in Figure 9.2. On a positive note, this graphic illustration not only portrays the idea that tourism public policy comes from the exercise of statutory powers and the operation of planning mechanisms at different levels of the state apparatus (e.g. Jeffries, 2001; Hall, 200a; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). It also reveals the considerable influence of national governments in the context of a Southern-European capital city (Pearce, 1998; Maitland, 2009). Figure 9.2 fails,

however, to harness and compose issues of scale and pace in the study of urban tourism. Inevitably, conclusions about the political boundaries and character of the institutionalisation of tourism policy and planning cannot be based on assumptions derived from the mapping of tourism-related institutions (Tyler and Guerrier, 1998). Examples of limited knowledge are the varyingly urgent or indifferent positioning of Athens among statutory and policy network structures, the channels of power through which organizations and institutions shape the context in question, and the time frames of stability and change. Thus, without fair knowledge of these matters any attempt to assume the prevalence of some kind of coherence can be nothing but a precarious step.

A Sense of Incoherence and the Sources of Governance Failure

In parallel with the purposeful reading of policy documents and legislation, I tried to broaden the horizon of institutional analysis by focusing on the ideas surrounding the context of tourism governance in question. Perhaps the strongest advantage of the multi-scalar and multi-thematic Figures 9.1 and 9.2 is the acknowledgement of the contribution of systems thinking to the inquiry of tourism policy and planning (Dredge and Lawrence, 2007; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004). In considering the reciprocal interdependence of diverse actors and structural conditions (Jessop, 2001; 2005; 2008a; 2008b), the representation of the constitution and articulation of political agendas and institutional expressions confirms the belief that “*tourism policy systems are 'nested' within an environment composed of other complex systems*” (Stevenson *et al.*, 2009: 213). Without in-depth knowledge from the realm of ideas, however, any snapshot of socio-political order remains vulnerable to inept accounts and misinterpretations of the ‘nested’

dynamics operating underneath the ‘nested’ systems. The key lies to unfolding the fluidity of material factors in the political analysis of tourism development, understanding the path-dependence and path-shaping attributes of tourism governance in each spatio-temporally specific (and well-defined) research context, and making critical observations upon the quality and endurance of coherence. In the research context of Athens, the study of perceptions and values of individuals and organisations through interviews added data that contradicts the harmonic representation of the tourism policy-institutional context. Actually, it reveals that the long-term pattern of tourism politics demonstrates a sense of incoherence and incorporates certain cases of governance failure.

From a public policy point of view, there has always been a lack of clarity in Greece concerning the positioning and treatment of Athens as a city destination of international fame alongside the plethora of summer holiday resorts. For the last two decades of the twentieth century that was possibly a consequence of the failure of policy-makers to strike a balance between encouraging the spatial spread of tourism throughout the country’s less advantageous areas and realizing the potential of urban tourism to reconstruct the image of Athens along with its economic and socio-cultural fabric. This dichotomy was forgotten when the city was awarded the 2004 Olympic Games, yet again only in terms of a highly optimistic rhetoric expressed through the promises of politicians and private sector’s expectations.

The notable lack of a comprehensive strategic plan, whose objectives would inspire some kind of a vision and orchestrate policy aspirations across policy areas and levels of administration, does not offer a definitive answer, a panacea to the challenges of tourism development in Athens. This study does not negate that sometimes even the “*publication*

of tourism policy objectives does not, in itself, guarantee their implementation” (Baum, 1994: 186). It is not uncommon for tourism plans to “*represent rational (prescriptive) planning approaches which fail to consider the world in which the plans will operate*” (Hall, 2000: 40). When combined, however, with the strictly centralised nature of tourism policy-making at the national level and the absence of effective mechanisms that would monitor tourism policy and provide reliable feedback, the lack of strategic planning indicates the spasmodic and vague manner in which tourism development in Athens has been envisioned and occurred.

Perhaps more pertinent to academic debates (Baum, 1994; 2000a; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Treuren and Lane, 2003; Tyler and Guerrier, 1998) is the idea that the blurrier the agenda of tourism public policy the more difficult building consensus becomes. In cities and elsewhere the preparation and implementation of tourism public policy can be highly contested processes. Crucially, the lack of clarity does not help resolve divergences in views between levels of administration, and either exacerbates conflicts or leads to inertia. That is the main lesson from the contentious and unfinished transformation of the Athens waterfront to a nucleus of tourist attractions and recreation activities. Through a series of statutes, the government strove to include provisions for tourism in the rationale of large-scale Olympic interventions across the waterfront. It has been questioned, however, the extent to which it engaged in a transparent and pragmatic dialogue with local communities over environmental and socio-cultural impacts, and clarified its intentions both for individual projects and the waterfront as a whole. Thus, the objections of local governments and voluntary groups are framed around the lack of ‘adequate’ (holistic) tourism planning, the priorities of the central government’s agenda and its authoritarian attitude, and notions of political accountability. These are well-documented

objections in the literature of tourism (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Murhpy, 1988; Pigram, 1990; Simpson, 2001; Swarbrooke, 1999) that also share common ground with the recent effort of Dredge and Thomas (2009) to examine constructions and interpretations of public interest in tourism development and management.

Controversy among groups of actors in Athens also relates to tourism public policy both before and after decision-making. Notwithstanding the introduction of governance reforms under the influence of Europeanization, every time there are changes in ministerial and top bureaucratic positions new leaderships inherit a legacy of inconsistent and unsatisfactory results. The main reason is the fragile foundations of horizontal intra-governmental and vertical intergovernmental relations. Examples include the phenomena of ministerial co-responsibilities and competing or slow inter-ministerial relations, the troublesome symbiosis of the organizations of tourism public administration, and the cryptic contribution of directly-elected local governments to regional-local planning *vis a vis* the role of appointed regional administrations as the government's arm's length body to manage European funds. As well as corroborating the findings of other political studies of tourism development (Baum, 1994; Cooper and Flehr, 2006; Goymen, 2000; Jeffries, 2001; Kerr, 2003; Lennon *et al.*, 2006), these well-established challenges show the path-dependent origins of governance failure. In short, the incoherent patterns of tourism governance are understood to surface from the continuing underperformance of institutional configurations. While statutory institutional arrangements struggle to enable positive change and establish effective channels of communication and collaboration within the boundaries of state apparatus, the effects of their poor practices and processes transcend these boundaries.

As any other policy area under the umbrella of cohesion, tourism policy attracts the attention of various stakeholders (Commission of the European Communities, 2005; Committee of the Regions, 2006). In Athens, the civil society perceives and criticizes the problematic character of state involvement in urban issues, but does not question (so far) the legitimacy of existing political powers to pull the strings. Tourism associations look forward to the government securing a favourable business environment for hotel investments made before the Olympics or undertaking sophisticated tourism marketing. Similarly, environmental organizations and citizen groups realize that no matter how much they disagree with the central state the aesthetic and social upgrade of the waterfront or the development of a metropolitan park will remain distant dreams without its support. Given also the absence of concerted inter-organizational consultations, the underlying motives behind the development of policy networks are to heighten political pressure and stimulate desirable changes in tourism public policy.

Although this is another reflection of the *de facto* dominance of national governments in the policy-institutional context of a Southern European capital city (OECD, 2004), the football moral of this thesis is one of extensive passing game with little end product. The more complex and sclerotic the institutional arrangements of the state the more informal and prejudiced becomes the relation between the state and civil society. There is no doubt, however, that interest groups and policy networks outside government intensify efforts to confront and influence its decisions, given their repeatedly expressed disappointment over the ambiguous treatment of tourism by the country's major political powers and bureaucratic authorities. What remains unaddressed is the conviction of the 'interest intermediation' school of thought that the emergence of policy networks is a sign of better forms of governing (Rhodes, 1997; Stokes, 1998b; 2000). Rather, the

particularities of tourism politics in Athens corroborate the conception of governance as an ideal condition by the ‘governance’ school of thought (Hoff, 2003; Jessop, 1998). Insofar as tourism-related policy networks remain so dependent to the horizontal and vertical operations of state bureaucracy, the quality of tourism governance is seen as a result of the coupling and co-evolution of hierarchical and heterarchical modes of coordination.

Whereas the current discussion captures the sense of ‘patterned incoherence’ and recapitulates the substance of challenges that undermine tourism policy-making and implementation, what seems to discourage the reproduction of a vicious circle of governance failure is the slow but gradual improvement of learning skills. Knowledge is an essential asset that stimulates the mobilisation of interests and resources, and directs the context-shaping effects of power on tourism governance (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Coles and Scherle, 2007; Few, 2002; Hannam, 2002; Healey *et al.*, 2003).

The latter observation concurred more than once with evidence from Athens. Not only does the lack of efficient and effective bureaucratic machinery slow down the improvement of knowledge management, but also weakens the capacity of public agencies to deliver their missions and optimize their favourable institutional positions. Hence, the ‘Athens Tourism and Economic Development Company’ (ATEDC) constitutes a notable exception in which a recently formed municipal initiative aims to distil the lessons of international experience into a strategy of becoming the capital city’s destination management organization (DMO). From the private sector’s point of view, the example of the ‘Association of Greek Tourist Enterprises’ shows what benefits can individual associations reap in terms of political influence and technocratic knowledge by

putting rivalries aside and working together into a collective lobbying body. Even less resourceful initiatives like the networks of local governments and voluntary groups appreciate the value of knowledge, when it helps them to enrich their portfolios of arguments and tactics. What remains unanswered, however, is whether better knowledge can equip tourism actors in Athens with enough tools to overcome well-established challenges, facilitate coordination, settle disputes, and cultivate optimism in the midst of a crisis.

Implications and Recommendations in the Face of a Crisis

At the end of this thesis, there is potential for linkages between conclusions about tourism governance in Athens and implications in light of recent developments in the wider political environment. An interesting point is that the second round of fieldwork was completed only a few months before the escalation of economic and socio-political tension. Hence, it is not unreasonable to assume the financial crisis may have galvanized the pessimism felt during interviews for the future of tourism development and collaboration. The supposition is that the slow progress of governance reforms within the politically favourable post-Olympic climate will be difficult to improve in a state of growing uncertainty. Ironically, it seems that the arrival of the 'International Monetary Fund' in Athens⁸³ has boosted the new government's willingness to deliver governance reforms.

⁸³ Economic stability and the survival of the existing political system has been based since May 2010 upon an astonishing €110 billion financing package provided to Greece by the 'International Monetary Fund', the 'European Commission', and the 'European Central Bank'. The return to power of the 'Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement' in October 2009 has coincided with a period in which Greece is urged "*to stabilize its economy, become more competitive, and restore market confidence*" under the guidance-imposition of drastic terms and conditions (IMF, 2010). Notwithstanding the negative international publicity that Greece and Athens have received lately, tourism development is not addressed among the provisions of the aid

In such a case, it has been accelerated and put in practice since January 2011 the re-organization of sub-national governments (Law 3852/2010). Alongside the abolishment of prefectures and the further merging of municipalities, eleven regional and two metropolitan (in Attica and Thessaloniki) directly elected administrations with a portfolio of strategic powers have replaced the old decentralized units. The aim is to enhance the structure and performance of the country's sub-national administrations, facilitate the utilization of funds, and enable devolution. The quality of tourism product in each and every Greek destination will continue being dependent on certain functions and practices occurring at the national level. Nevertheless, data from interviews suggested the majority of interviewees may regard this reform as a positive step towards the resolution of several pending issues in tourism development and management at the regional level. Thus, the foundations of the initial pessimistic supposition are questioned, because there is no single path for the evolution of knowledge and perceptions in tourism politics. Consistent with the rationale of the SRA, fluidity and randomness seem to rule the realm of ideas over the governance of tourism development as long as strategic actors and strategically selective structural conditions face new challenges and experience further changes in light of historical coincidences.

To put the debate of governance reforms in perspective, however, no interpretation of the wider picture can be valid without a systematic overview of the ways in which actors and structural conditions interact and shape each other across policy areas and levels of administration. Within the boundaries of the Greek state apparatus there is an apparent

package. Nevertheless, measures such as the re-organization of state apparatus and its different organizations due to radical budget cuts along with the further privatization of public properties will certainly influence tourism policy and planning at the national and regional levels. Mixed comments, for instance, has already received the latest reshuffling of the structure of tourism public administration through the merger of the ministry of tourism development with the ministry of culture (P.D. 186/2009; 15/2010).

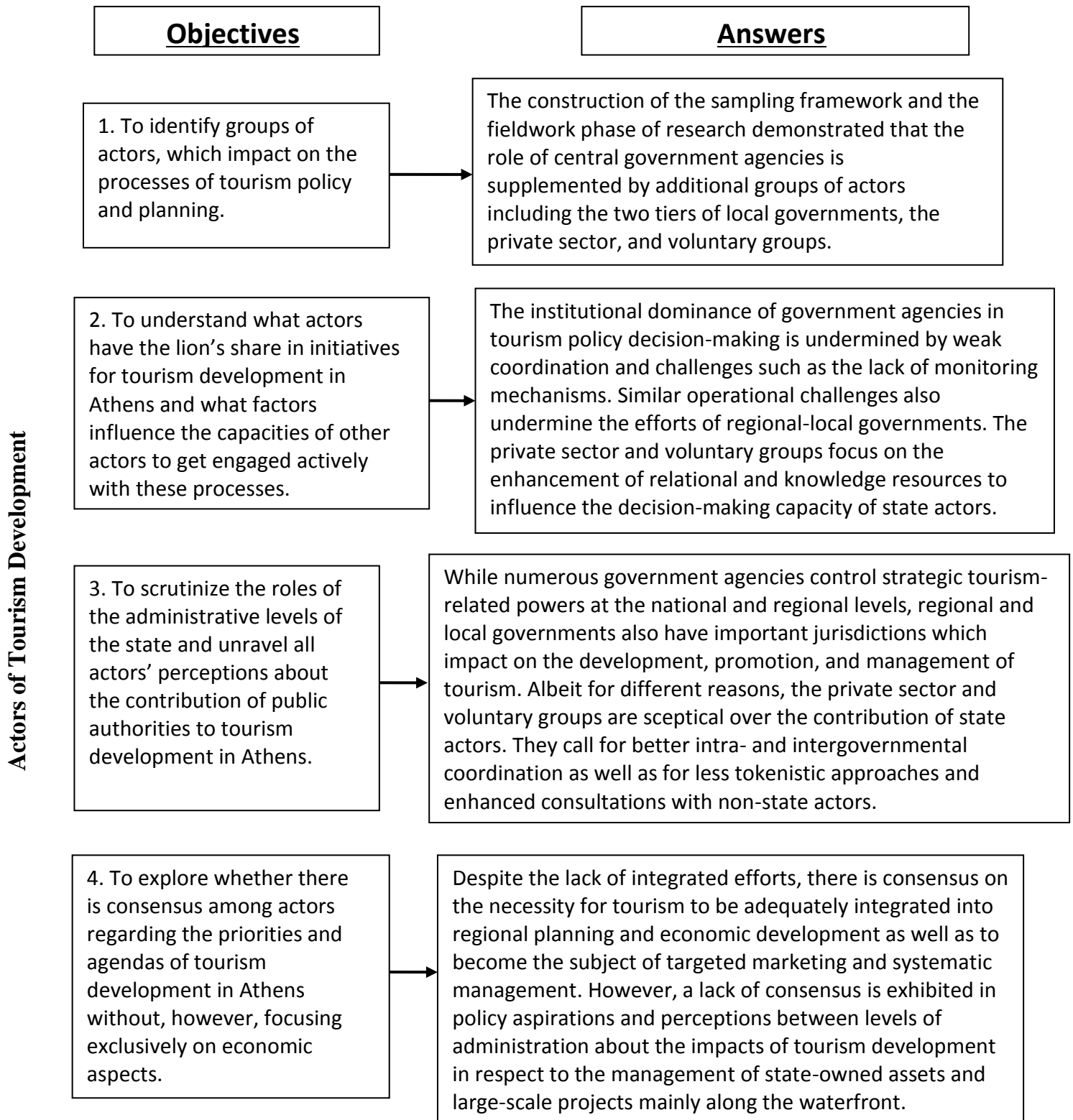
need for clarifications in the distribution of statutory powers, the objectives underlying the involvement of diverse organizations in tourism, and the time frames of policy delivery. In contrast to the past, these steps also require a persistent focus on assessing the performance of policy instruments and institutional tools. Essentially, mental advances and their practical consequences can go beyond facilitating internal communication and the modernization of services. Before achieving the transformation of Athens to a unique selling proposition, state agencies need to build on their key position within the institutional arena of tourism policy and planning in Greece. Hence, a fresh mentality is vital to stimulate them to strengthen coordination and build consensus with civil society without doubts over the intricacy of dealing with diverse and often conflicting interests. Likewise, it is equally important for the different segments of the civil society to ponder over the ultimate causes of little progress. Given their flexibility in improving knowledge and updating tactics, the attitude of organisations from the private and voluntary sectors will determine the margins of setting out priorities in the agenda of tourism development and instructing state agencies how to integrate their viewpoints in tourism policy-making.

On these grounds, the recent empowerment of regional administrations cannot be expected to utterly and instantaneously alter the rationale of tourism policy and planning in Greece, and compensate for the total of institutional complexities. This is even more pertinent to the topic of this thesis, because there is much doubt that Greek governments can stop seeing the capital city as “*belonging to the whole nation*” (Sykianaki and Palla, 2004: 19). The question now is whether developing and managing tourism in the wider area of Athens can be compared with the same activities occurring in any of the summer holiday resorts. As the recently ratified national frameworks of spatial planning and sustainable development prescribe, the answer to this question can only be negative. No

other area in Greece has such a rich portfolio of functions and attractions or can be compared with Athens in terms of economic growth, contemporary infrastructure, and cultural heritage. Throughout the 1990s', the doctrine that tourism development in Athens had to be sacrificed for the sake of remote and lagging areas justified inertia and delays. This is not a mistake to be repeated, so future work by the upgraded 'Region of Attica' and the 'Organisation of Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens' will build on the guidelines of national frameworks while revising the 'Athens Master Regulatory Plan'.

Practices of tourism development and management among levels of administration will not possibly reach high standards unless they are grounded upon a thoroughly discussed strategic agenda and a coherent context of policies and institutions. To remember the early observation of Jenkins and Henry (1982: 159) “ *the active involvement by government should not be a manifestation of political rhetoric, but rather an organized, sustained, and flexible approach to tourism planning with the aim of optimizing the social and economic returns from tourism*”. The purpose of this section is of course not to suggest a prescription for the delivery of tourism policy and planning. Rather, it is to highlight what issues have prevented tourism politics to capitalize on the strengths of the capital city of Greece as a multifunctional tourist-historic destination. Accordingly, Figure 9.3 provides answers to the study's objectives, while Box 9.1 raises seven points as policy and institutional recommendations that arise from this study.

Figure 9.3: Summary of Answers to the Study's Objectives



The Policy-Institutional Context of Tourism Development

5. To understand the nature of tourism development in Athens and the impact of relevant policies and institutions.

The lack of strategic tourism planning and partnerships has prevented Athens from building in the long-term on the Olympic legacy and the upgrade of public infrastructure as well as from capitalizing on the multi-faceted nature of its tourism product.

6. To shed light on the nature of institutional arrangements and the impact they have on tourism policy and planning.

Institutions, whose origin and evolution depend on the official operation of the state, are distinguished from those which ensue from working relationships among/between state and non-state actors on the basis of a common agenda of mutual advantage. While the former category reveals how each government regulates the planning and implementation of tourism public policy, the latter examines the ways in which the private and voluntary sectors develop relationships with each other and sometimes with local governments in order to influence the decisions and practices of the central state apparatus.

7. To outline the networks of relationships among the groups of actors with an impact on tourism development.

Issues of Collaboration and Networking

8. To investigate whether and how actors modify their strategies and alliances in order to improve anticipating results, and how they assess their capacities to adapt.

There is a disparity between the strategy posed by the rhetoric of politicians and the tactics employed by state actors in what concerns tourism development in Athens and the improvement of governance procedures. The private sector and voluntary groups seem to grasp the value of solidarity as a means of improving their influence on state actors.

9. To scrutinize the opportunities and barriers for strengthening relationships among the groups of actors with an impact on tourism development in Athens.

Despite the lack of potent and systematic policy networks between state and non-state actors as well as conflicting perceptions about the roles of each other, there is a growing apprehension about the importance of partnerships at the regional level. In this respect, the empowerment of the ATEDC and the establishment of a metropolitan administrative structure hold the keys in Athens against the challenges of centralised planning.

10. To discuss the existence of a vision regarding tourism development in Athens and the potential for strengthening collaboration.

Despite the lack of an explicit vision and the sense of frustration for the lost opportunity after 2004, there is potential for strengthening collaboration (see previous answer). It seems, however, that any effort at the regional level might be fruitless without the contribution and coordination of central government agencies in several tourism-related policy areas.

Future of Tourism Development and Collaboration

Box 9.1: Policy and Institutional Recommendations for Tourism Governance in Athens

1. Upgrade of Tourism in Public Policy Agenda

Despite political rhetoric about the contribution of tourism to national economy, frequent changes in leadership give the sense that terms in office in tourism public administration are seen as only a small step in the development of careers for politicians and officials. As a result, discontinuity impedes the operation of key organisations, and puts on hold the promotion of tourism-related issues to other ministries.

2. Clarification of Roles – Dealing with Institutional Overlaps

As a phenomenon whose quality and experience are subject to various elements and activities, the upgrade of tourism in public policy agenda is also pertinent to institutional overlaps in powers and missions. Attention must be drawn to the ways in which ‘co-responsibilities’ erode the delivery of tourism public policy across policy areas in the absence of effective horizontal intra-governmental relations. While it is crucial for tourism public agencies to distinguish their own areas of intervention, more efforts must ensure that the priorities and intentions of tourism officials align or coincide with the tourism-related agendas and decisions of other ministries and central government agencies.

3. Linking Levels of Administration

A response is necessary to challenges that erode the delivery of tourism public policy between levels of administration. The recent reorganization of regions and municipalities meets the expectations for democratically elected regional and local leaderships. However, it remains to be seen to what extent the reform of sub-national governments will forge intergovernmental relations between the new entities and the central state, minimize vertical institutional overlaps, facilitate strategic planning at the regional and local levels, and guarantee the availability of financial resources.

4. Strategic Plan – Building Consensus and Political Commitment

It is time for Athens to ponder over its future as a tourism destination. Cultivating and promoting an appealing image for attractions and activities across the capital city and its wider area requires the development of a strategic plan including quantitative and qualitative objectives along with indicative timetables. Not only must the vision conveyed through this plan reflect the interests and aspirations of state agencies and civil society groups. Also, it has to correspond to the intentions of major political powers as a precaution against delays or obsolescence in the light of new arrivals in political administration.

5. Consultations – Linking Entrepreneurship with Environmental and Social Agendas

Consultations must help groups of actors overcome suspicions and collaborate over the coupling of entrepreneurial activities with environmental and social concerns. The rhetoric of sustainable tourism may remain a popular but superficial political discourse without efforts to understand and deal with the diverse relational practices, evolutionary processes and impacts, which constitute the outputs and outcomes of tourism policy and planning.

6. Building Multilateral Policy Networks – The Case of a Destination Management Organization

The development of policy networks has to build on and transcend the experience of mainly lobbying practices. Innovative ideas are required concerning inter-organisational partnerships such as the mutual participation of state agencies and interest groups in a structure responsible for the country's tourism marketing. At the regional-local level, the clarification of roles and powers in the light of the recent reform sets the foundations for a thorough debate. The question is whether the various actors would look forward to a solid metropolitan partnership or embrace the upgrade of the status of the 'Athens Tourism and Economic Development Company' according to the international patterns of destination management organisations.

7. Policy Integration and Monitoring – Political Accountability

Given the intrinsic complexity of the phenomenon of tourism, its development comes from the simultaneous evolution and coupling of rather different policy frameworks. In Athens, the development of a strategic plan is a first step towards the integration of policy measures from different areas under the umbrella of common objectives. However, it is also required the development of monitoring mechanisms to enable adaptive management and enhance political accountability.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

In terms of limitations, the case study of Athens barely scratches the surface of the effects of the recent crisis, and does not shed enough light on the problematic operation of certain organisations. When the riots erupted in December 2008, I had no more resources to return to Athens and record reactions caused by negative international publicity and disappointing hotel occupancies (AAHA, 2009a; 2009b; 2010). Perhaps more important than exploring whether the growing anger against politicians in Greece is broadened in the field of tourism would be the opportunity to interview more personalities with experience as ministers and chairs in the 'Ministry of Tourism Development' (MINTD) and the 'Greek National Tourism Organisation' (GNTO). Although fieldwork experience

demonstrated how difficult is to gain access to such people, their viewpoints would have added valuable information on challenges in the delivery of tourism policy and planning. Ideally, I could have interviewed more tourism public officials along with members of tourism associations of related professional sectors in order to extend knowledge over inter-organizational conflicts and disputes.

Despite limitations, this case study raises issues for future inquiry in the midst of a mystifying socio-political coincidence. While the SRA has the potential to delve into the reactions of tourism actors in Athens in light of the recent crisis, other conceptual frameworks can guide further research on the future role and impact of the ATEDC as a DMO (see Bornhorst *et al.*, 2010; d' Angella and Go, 2009; Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005). In contrast to the evaluation of the performance of tourism collaboration on the basis of indicative criteria, this case study also encourages more context-specific and theory-informed accounts of the institutional fabric of tourism politics. In considering the work of Michael and Plowman (2002) and Dixon and Dogan (2002), conceptions of collective failure can inform the underlying causes of tourism governance failure and underpin debates of possible responses. The same reasoning applies in understanding the characteristics of tourism interactions through the typologies of the human ecological approach (Fennell and Butler, 2003). Meanwhile, Athens is well known about its ancient heritage as a tourist-historic city. Despite the Olympic project, however, little is yet known about the linkages of tourism with sport and modern art venues and activities as significant attributes of contemporary city destinations (Smith, 2007a; 2007b). Further empirical study is imperative to clarify the treatment of modern culture from a tourism policy perspective and identify opportunities for boosting the tourism appeal of Athens.

9.3 Lessons from the Strategic-Relational Approach to Tourism Governance

The final section of this thesis assesses the operationalization of the SRA in the research of tourism policy and planning. Throughout the thesis, the selection of theoretical premises was stirred by two distinct yet closely related intellectual debates. Recent developments in the paradigm of the ‘New Institutionalism’ (NI) call for a more thorough treatment of institutions in political analysis of tourism. This is also pertinent to arguments about the embryonic status of theory, whose empowerment presupposes the infiltration and integration of political science concepts and themes through the tourism policy and planning literature. In both cases, the response of the SRA derives from the dialectical conceptualisation of the interplay of structure with agency. Actually, it is the social theory background of the SRA whereby the conceptual framework narrates and interprets the impact that facts and ideas have on the constitution and evolution of tourism politics, and advances the institutional analysis of tourism governance.

Furthermore, fresh thinking on institutions shares common ground with the efforts of scholars to capture the complexity and fluidity of tourism policy and planning in well-defined socio-political contexts. Recently, there has been an emergent interest in exploring place- and time-specific manifestations of tourism politics as a consequence of historical legacies (path-dependence) and the determinant of future developments (path-shaping). According to this thesis, the key to understanding the governance of tourism development lies in adopting a relational-evolutionary perspective on the manifold and changing nature of interactions and power games between the state and civil society. Hence, the purpose of this concluding assessment is threefold and consistent with the

early recommendation of Kusters (1984) to researchers to raise awareness of tourism politics and strengthen the legitimacy of their analysis. First, I discuss implications of contemporary institutional accounts and relational-evolutionary thinking in the research of tourism policy and planning. Second, I suggest there is merit in bringing together debates of theory and methodology in the tourism policy and planning inquiry through the lens of a ‘critical realist-thin constructivist’ epistemology. Finally, I consider limitations and opportunities for future research in light of the first operationalization of the SRA to the study of tourism governance.

Implications for the Analysis of Institutional Arrangements

Framing the study of tourism governance in Athens around the underlying principles of NI, I responded to recent appeals to a re-consideration of the conception of institutions in political science and the tourism policy and planning inquiry (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007 b; Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2001; Lowndes, 2002; Peters, 2005; Wood and Valler, 2001). First, this thesis embraced concerns over the tendency of institutional arrangements to demonstrate geographically heterogeneous manifestations and effects. Notwithstanding the absence of comparative case studies, the identification of particularities in the research setting of Athens corroborates what Milne and Ateljevic (2001: 387) call “*the inescapable spatial indeterminacy in institutional forms, dynamics and outcomes*”. In short, it is not anticipated that Athens can be equally matched up to city destinations, whose attractiveness has not exclusively been based for years on the international appeal of ancient heritage and their further development and organization does not primarily depend on the operation of a Daedalean and Sisyphean centralised administration.

Second, the account of ‘spatial indeterminacy’ underlies arguments about the uneven but tangled patterns of institutional arrangements and ensembles across scales and levels of administrations (Amin, 2004; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a; Fainstein *et al.*, 2003a; 2003b; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; McGuirk, 2004). As the case study of Athens poignantly reveals, it has taken years of spasmodic practices and unsatisfactory results to start questioning the *status quo* of national government predominance through the slow but gradual emergence and empowerment of initiatives at the regional-local levels. Being nowadays an integral aspect of crisis reforms, the reconstruction of state apparatus will stimulate further changes in structures and functions. Hence, the clarification and strategic orientation of roles and missions are regarded as key prerequisites for the rationalisation of the state’s involvement in tourism across the different levels of its hierarchy.

Third, this study captures the inclusive and flexible character of contemporary conceptions of institutional arrangements. Institutions are no longer seen as structural conditions, which almost fatally determine the destiny of individuals and collectivities. Instead, attention is drawn to their inter-subjective nature (Hay, 2002). What matters in the constitution of institutions is not only the impact of hard and soft structures on the decisions of actors and the manifestations of socio-political life. Of equal importance to academic scrutiny are the patterns of their own transformations in light of iterative action and reaction on behalf of agency. In the case study of Athens, the conception of parallel spheres was evident more than once. Any effort to comprehend the bulk of informal and ad-hoc contacts between the tourism public administration and tourism associations for the resolution of issues would not be possible without in-depth knowledge on the problematic operation of official bodies and committees that supposedly aim to formalize and strengthen the strategic orientation of inter-organizational consultations between the

state and civil society. Likewise, had this study not discovered the presence of weak organisational structures and monitoring tools across the different levels of the state's hierarchy, there would be no starting point in trying to explain criticism made of the inconsistent character of tourism policy-making and implementation. On these grounds, this thesis embraces the following definition of Dredge and Jenkins as an illustrative summary of how institutional arrangements delineate the contexts of socio-political manifestations in tourism policy and planning rather than subdue actors.

“Institutional arrangements are those frameworks within which planning and policy take place. They are sets of established rules, procedures, customs, laws, conventions, and behaviours that shape the ways in which tourism planning and policy making are undertaken. Institutional arrangements regulate, directly or indirectly, political and social life and are the frameworks through which issues and debates percolate and are turned into government policy and action” (2007b: 33).

Crucially, this definition may pave the way for further attempts to revitalize scholarship of the milieu of tourism planning. Not only does it suggest that the scope of institutional analysis cannot be confined to the examination of a particular set of structural conditions, behaviours and interactions, which expand within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus. Emphasis is also placed to the different meanings that actors attach to institutions (Miller *et al.*, 2005; Squire, 1994; Stevenson *et al.*, 2008; Treuren and Lane, 2003). The governance of actors and institutional ensembles is thus viewed through the recursive coupling and institutionalisation of material and ideational factors, which are place- and time-specific as well as path-dependent and path-shaping. According to this thesis, the key to further advances in the institutional analysis of tourism governance lies in the adoption of a relational-evolutionary perspective on both the constituents and entirety of tourism politics.

Implications for the Institutional Analysis of Tourism Governance

Maintaining a relational-evolutionary perspective on the elements and processes of tourism policy and planning has certain implications for the institutional analysis of tourism governance. These implications can generally be distinguished into two categories. The first category concerns empirical aspects of tourism policy and planning, and knowledge that emerges through their systematic examination. The second category explores the ways in which the diffusion of political science theories and concepts into the particular research area upgrades and integrates knowledge on the same empirical aspects. Together, these two categories of implications outline the contribution of a relational-evolutionary perspective on the institutional investigation of political phenomena in the field of tourism.

Evidence from this thesis coincides with themes discussed in Chapter Three in respect to the inherent complexity of tourism policy. The argument about the utility of a relational-evolutionary perspective substantiates the triangular account of interdependencies that envelop the functions of public policy from the micro to the macro level (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007a). Tourism policy is not a responsibility merely distributed and regulated between the different levels of public administration, even under the shadow of a notoriously pervasive national government. Hence, what matters in research terms is how the delivery of tourism policy spans across scales and time frames while permeating through various policy areas and groups of actors.

Notwithstanding the ubiquitous political rhetoric about the ascension of Athens among European city-break destinations, the lack of inter-scalar and inter-sectoral plans and partnerships revealed the fragmented and spasmodic delivery of tourism policy. In addition, the absence of criteria and mechanisms that would monitor the outcomes of tourism policy and update its provisions disclosed how feeble and precarious the conception and implementation of sustainable planning can be (Dredge, 2006a; Strange, 1999). The Achilles heel that hinders the integration of various viewpoints and the counterbalance of conflicting interests is the lack of skills whereby the public sector could improve the production and dissemination of knowledge. The central position of this debate in Athens becomes more apparent through the introduction of new perceptions, which point out that the sustainable planning of tourism and the holistic assessment of its impacts presuppose the development of partnerships at the regional-local levels. In this respect, not only do debates of regionalism and regionalisation relate to the governance of urban tourism in the capital city of Greece (Edwards *et al.*, 2008; Jenkins, 2000; Pforr, 2007a). The debate of regional-local partnerships is also a verification that the evolution of distinct yet interconnected ideas is a great engine for the transformation of tourism politics, although there is no guarantee that the total of innovative ideas will be actually fulfilled.

Furthermore, it still feels fresh the early assertion of Matthew and Richter (1991: 133) that *“both political scientists and tourism professionals need to explore each other’s turf”*. The utilisation of political science theories and concepts can benefit the analysis of empirical issues. In respect to the paradigm of NI, institutional arrangements transcend the shell of public policy functions and processes. They *“are best viewed as a filter that mediates and expresses the play of conflicting social and economic forces in society”* (Hall and Jenkins,

1995: 18). Assessing whether or not this filter manages to set up a sound framework for the preparation and implementation of tourism policy and sustain consensus and transparency between the state and civil society was proved during this thesis a useful approach to the research of tourism governance. In relational-evolutionary terms, it entails the systematic examination of ongoing interactions between systems of actors and structures embedded at different levels and policy areas.

According to empirical evidence and theoretical themes discussed in this thesis, there are four critical questions surrounding the contextual performance of institutional ensembles and their effects on tourism policy and planning. First, has the public sector's "*large number of intersecting and loosely related subsectors that cut across public and private boundaries*" achieved to orchestrate integrated initiatives and coordinate tourism development (O' Faircheallaigh *et al.*, 1999; cited in Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b: 40; *cf.* Jeffries, 2001; Lennon *et al.*, 2006)? This question is a reflection of the 'New Institutionalism' conception of the "*critical but not necessarily deterministic role*" that state actors and agencies can play "*in shaping policy discourses and outcomes*" (March and Olsen, 1984; cited in Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b: 57). Even for countries with a long tradition of political legitimacy and authority concentration at the national level, it is also a reminder of challenges that arise from the ascendance of regions and localities and the empowerment of respective tiers of government (Bramwell, 2004c; Church *et al.*, 2000; Evans, 2000; Jeffries, 2001).

Second, what factors affect the capacity of interest groups to intervene in decision-making (Sautter and Leissen, 1999; Tyler and Dinan, 2001a)? This question indirectly recognizes that even the potentially finest mix of tourism policy cannot guarantee equal results

provided that government agencies have not considered the perceptions and arguments of non-state actors. Democratic governance is not related to the good intentions of governments, but requires attitudes and mechanisms favouring working relationships with organized interests. Unofficial relationships are and will always be part of this game, but transparency seems more possible to emerge from official interactions.

Third, to what extent the contextual synthesis of heterogeneous entities and structural conditions exhibits outcomes of effectiveness and political order (Jessop, 2001; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Treuren and Lane, 2003)? This question is consistent with the theorisation of tourism governance as an ideal condition, whose quality depends on the glue that holds together systems of actors and structures, rather than as a new form of governing (Borzel, 1998; Hoff, 2003; Jessop, 1998). To remember the illustration of institutions as *“islands of order (or continuity) in a sea of disorder”* the sense of coherence can be conceived as *“contingent with different degrees of transformation and stability”* (Hoff, 2003: 47). Indeed, there seems to be nothing given or static in processes of institutionalisation of ideational and material factors and behind the reproduction of coherence or incoherence, stability or instability (Jessop, 2001; Wood and Valler, 2001).

Hence, the fourth question to be answered is what are the causes and effects of socio-political change, which characterize over time the contextual imprint of tourism governance (Tyler and Guerrier, 1998). This final question denotes that the spatio-temporal specificity of research settings is an intellectually artificial conception that enables the investigation of path-dependent and path-shaping aspects in tourism governance contexts.

The afore-mentioned questions have additional implications for the research of supplementary themes. The employment of a relational-evolutionary perspective on the institutional analysis of tourism governance emancipates the behavioural and latent manifestations of the concept of power. As a “*relational effect of social interaction*” (Allen, 2003: 2), power involves various forms of expression exercised in socio-political arenas (Coles and Church, 2007; Few, 2002; Matthews and Richter, 1991). One approach to elucidate the context-shaping effects of power involves the exploration of factors behind the mobilisation of interests and resources (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004; Few, 2002; Healey *et al.*, 2003; Tyler and Guerrier, 1998). This is seen as a methodological advancement in the tourism planning literature, which suffers from the proliferation of prescriptive accounts of tourism collaboration. These accounts tend to assess the structural characteristics and interactions between partners on the basis of indicative criteria. Focusing on issues of internal performance, however, these accounts neglect to explore the environment outside collaborative initiatives. Thus, they do not pay attention to a variety of structural and behavioural factors, which shape the very contexts in which tourism partnerships operate (Bramwell and Cox, 2009; Long, 1994; Maitland, 2002).

The latter point is also related to the conceptualisation of policy networks as political institutions and strategic alliances. Evidence from the case study of Athens verifies the usefulness of this conception according to which tourism policy networks exist and evolve alongside other structural and behavioural patterns. They can be seen as collective entities formed around aspirations for the accomplishment of common goals and the influence of tourism public policy (Dredge and Lawrence, 2007; Dredge and Pforr, 2008). On similar grounds, Bramwell and Meyer (2007) note that the constitution and evolution of policy networks are much dependent on opportunities and threats arising from both

endogenous and exogenous factors to policy networks. This conception is consistent with the idea that the empirical examination of the coupling of policy networks with other institutions and modes of coordination at a meso level of analysis can pave the way for the analytical process of identifying and assessing patterns of good or bad governance at the macro level (Hay, 2002; Hoff, 2003; Marsh and Smith, 2001).

The Contribution of the Strategic-Relational Approach to Tourism Governance

The concept of strategy in the framework of the SRA guides both a geographical and historical account of interactions and dynamics embedded in socio-political spaces. In short, it underlies a theoretically dynamic articulation of the ways in which “*structure and actors are interdependent and transform each other*” (Kitagawa, 2003: 40). The recursive coupling of strategic actors and strategically selective opportunities and constraints, in terms of contextually embedded structural conditions, brings to the foreground the pragmatically and conceptually blurred layers and phases of tourism politics. This is a significant contribution particularly to the research of urban tourism, which has not yet witnessed the introduction of theoretical frameworks capable of addressing the dynamic processes of tourism policy and planning across time and space (Ashworth and Page, 2010; Chang and Huang, 2004; Edwards *et al.*, 2008; Pearce 2001; Tyler and Guerrier, 1998). According to the SRA to tourism governance in Athens, there are different empirical points of departure to the investigation of patterns of complexity, fragmentation, fluidity, and contingency.

First, it is highlighted that distinguishing structures from actors and clarifying boundaries between the state and civil society are equally deceptive tasks (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007d). The core of the paradox in the case study of Athens lies in perceptions about the essence of government involvement in tourism. Notwithstanding their increasingly creative lobbying tactics, non-state actors in Greece have long considered national governments both the legitimate architects and the most problematic structures of tourism policy. Thus, it is a matter of ideational constructions and temporal coincidences whether and how national governments are perceived to comprise a configuration of disordered and unhelpful structures or play the role of another partner or rival.

Second, the previous point acquires greater importance while pondering over recent reforms of regional-local governments. As was discussed throughout the presentation of research findings, the empowerment of tourism governance processes at the level of the capital city and its wider region has been a strategic component of the lobbying practices of interest groups and elected local officials. It remains to be seen, however, whether the recent batch of reforms will confront horizontal and vertical challenges in the delivery of tourism policy and planning, and create opportunities for the sound involvement of civil society in policy decision-making (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001).

Third, the outcomes and time frames of public policy are seen as drivers of perceptions of future tourism development and collaboration. Organisational values seem to sow the seeds of transformations in tourism policy and planning, and underlie the craft of tourism politics (Treuren and Lane, 2003). It is not regarded as accidental, for instance, the late persistence of tourism associations in building solidarity under the umbrella of the ‘Association of Greek Tourist Enterprises’ (AGTE). A key motive is the belief that a

unified front of collective interests from different professional sectors can improve knowledge on tourism policy priorities, and intensify political pressure. Developed over time, this is a positive way of thinking whereby it is cancelled a negative fact. Understanding the potential of integrated initiatives has been proved more pragmatic than the optimism that was fuelled after 2004, but soon faded away when the problematic coexistence of the MINTD and GNTD dented hopes for the fast progress of policy reforms. Not only does this indication substantiate Hay's (1998: 44) conviction that "*the strategically selective context is also discursively selective in that it is accessed through perceptions, misperceptions and representations of the existing context*". More importantly, the example of AGTE corroborates that the recursive coupling of strategic actors and strategically selective contexts occurs in parallel with the interplay of material and ideational factors, with important implications from an epistemological point of view.

Implications of the Strategic-Relational Approach to Political Studies of Tourism

Crucially, the central position and mediating role of ideas and reflexive learning in the rationale of the SRA has two types of implications in respect to the conceptual framework's operationalization in political studies of tourism. According to Box 9.2, these implications can be basically distinguished between theoretical and epistemological-methodological ones.

Box 9.2: Theoretical and Epistemological-Methodological Implications of the Strategic Relational Approach to Political Studies of Tourism

Theoretical Implications

In terms of theoretical implications, the abstract yet analytical manner in which the SRA blends empirical evidence from the realms of facts and ideas extends the interpretive contribution of political science in the field of tourism. As a theory, the SRA is concerned with the contextually iterative interactions and transformations of actors and structures. The hermeneutic intervention of the SRA can pervade a variety of socio-political themes between the micro and the macro level of analysis. Nevertheless, the investigation of the path-dependent and path-shaping aspects of socio-political processes is always founded upon a specific and well-defined spatio-temporal context within which actors live and breathe. In this respect, the SRA brings the earlier discussed account of spatial indeterminacy in institutional forms (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001) together with the idea of the indexicality of knowledge (Goodson and Philimore, 2004). The reason is that institutional analysis in strategic-relational terms is consistent with the conviction that *“the contextual position of knowledge is acknowledged through exploring how claims for knowledge relate to a particular temporal, geographical or social moment”* (Goodson and Philimore, 2004: 36).

Furthermore, the unambiguous focus on specific contexts and the hermeneutic intervention of the SRA substantiates research undertaken with well-organized single-case designs. Through the conceptual framework of the SRA, the dialogue between theory and evidence does not ascribe ideal stages and criteria of success in processes of tourism policy and planning while narrating the story of a particular research setting. Rather than predicting or modelling reality, this dialogue capitalizes on the spatio-temporally specific dialectic of structure and agency to examine and describe dynamic phenomena, make sound interpretations, and open up new paths of inquiry (Bevir, 2003; Hall, 2000a; Hay, 2002; Jenkins, 2001; Rhodes, 2003). Insofar as the SRA is informed by and integrated with themes and concepts of political science, it can be considered one kind of conceptual armoury for the ‘modern-day Theseus’ student of tourism policy throughout the identification of research objectives, the construction of research design, and the interpretation of empirical findings (Branwell and Meyer, 2007; Hall, 1994; Pearce, 2004). Transcending the range of merely descriptive accounts of tourism politics, the SRA also brings to the foreground the voices of those considering epistemological and methodological advances in tourism research (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007d; Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; 2004; Jenkins, 2001; Jennings, 2001; Stevenson et al, 2008).

Epistemological-Methodological Implications

Essentially, the second type of implications related to the central position and mediating role of ideas and reflexive learning in the rationale of the SRA underlines the value of carrying out qualitative research while exploring tourism politics. According to the 'critical realist-thin constructivist' foundations of the SRA (Hay, 2002), knowledge on the events and deep mechanisms of tourism politics is created at the empirical level from the experiences of both the researched and the researcher (Botterill, 2007). Hence, qualitative methodology is not only a means of exploring the values and ideas that instigate actors to act, react, and deliberately or spontaneously transform the contexts surrounding them. Since "*a commitment to the production of truth is a value judgement in the first instance*" (May, 2001: 58), the employment of a qualitative methodology is also a promising step towards understanding how the values of an investigator intervene and shape to a certain extent decisions of research practice and interpretations of research output (Ayikoru, 2009; Jennings, 2001).

This thesis explained how data from semi-structured interviews enriched information from documentary sources and underpinned an in-depth analysis of tourism governance in Athens. During this research process, issues of subjectivity and reflexivity were not ignored. The first reason was that my personal background and aspirations maintained my commitment throughout the initially disturbing transformation of the research topic from a study about the development of sustainable tourism indicators to an institutional analysis of tourism governance. Another reason was that the research design's development and quality were dependent on personal decisions and experiences. Indicative examples include the identification of case study boundaries, the difficulty in getting access to people and documents from the public sector, the time-consuming choice to undertake full transcription of interviews before proceeding with data analysis, and the decision to proceed with the presentation of certain parts of research findings.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Understanding tourism governance in strategic-relational terms has a key limitation in respect to the analysis of power. Although the SRA comprises a conceptual apparatus for the investigation of power as a corollary of contextually and discursively embedded socio-political practices and interactions (Allen, 2003; Bramwell and Meuer, 2007; Few, 2002; Hay, 2002; Yeung, 2005), it does not transcend a frequent sign of intellectual narrowness in tourism literature. For Church and Ravenscroft (2007: 173),

“too often research has focused on the practices of power and has not always made the extra conceptual step to stating what form of power relations emerge in the tourism context”.

Consistent with this observation, I take into consideration the work of Allen (2003) on the modes of power as an additional source of explanation during future attempts to extend the contribution of the SRA in the research area of tourism policy and planning. As this thesis explored the effects of interactions between the various state and non-state actors of tourism development in Athens, a future study may specify which of the modes of authority, coercion, domination, inducement, manipulation, negotiation, persuasion, and seduction encapsulate more appropriately empirical evidence of power practices and interactions among/between strategic actors and strategically selective contexts (Allen, 2003). The same reasoning applies to the potential operationalization of the SRA to the analysis of specific tourism partnerships (Bramwell and Cox, 2008), and even to the examination of the changing relation between structure and agency in the light of a possible ‘crisis of hegemony’ that states like the Greek one may face as a consequence of the ongoing crisis (Jessop, 2008a).

Appendix A: Features of Contemporary Political Science and the Response of the New Institutionalism

Definitions (March and Olsen, 1984: 735)	Analytical Implications and Responses of the New Institutionalism (Bevir, 2003; Goodin, 1996; Hall and Taylor, 1996; Hay, 2002: 105-106; March and Olsen, 1984: 735-738; Peters, 2005: 16-18; Rhodes, 1997: 78)	
Contextualism: Politics were seen as an integral part of society, less inclined to differentiate polity from the rest of society.	Politics as subordinate to exogenous factors and contextual phenomena like economic conditions, class structure, culture, religion, and geography. Political events were seen as epiphenomena rather as actions necessary to an understanding of society. The state had also its position of centrality in the political science.	NI assumes that contextual phenomena affect but are also significantly affected by politics. It also brings the state back in the core of political science, as it considers state and society existing in an organic condition of mutual dependence.
Reductionism: Political phenomena were seen as the aggregate consequences of individual behaviour, less inclined to ascribe the outcomes of politics to organisational structures.	Collective political behaviour (macro level) was seen as the outcome of individual actions (micro level), and put aside the impact of the larger structures in the state and society.	NI suggests that an explicit focus on collective action is necessary in understanding political life.
Utilitarianism: Action was considered the product of calculated (rational) self-interest, less inclined to see political actors as responding to obligations and duties.	Political events and actions were understood as consequences of calculated decisions by rational actors who seek to promote their self-interest.	NI insists on a more a autonomous role for institutions and sees political action through a 'logic of appropriateness'. Conduct is context-dependent not because it is rational, in pursuit of a given set of preferences, for actors to behave in a particular manner in a given context, but because it becomes habitual to do so. Conduct involves commitments to values, apart from personal ones, as well as responses to settled social conditions and institutional criteria.
Instrumentalism: Decision making and the allocation of resources were defined as the central concerns of political life, less attentive to the ways in which political life is organized around the development of meaning through symbols, rituals and ceremonies.	Outcomes were seen as dominant over process, identity and other important socio-political values. Any autonomous behaviour at the macro level was regarded as means for maximizing personal benefits in accordance also to the features of reductionism and utilitarianism.	NI assumes political life as a complex interaction of symbols, values, and even the emotive aspects of the political process.
Functionalism: History was regarded as an efficient mechanism for reaching some equilibrium, with less concern given to the possibilities of mal-adaptation and non-uniqueness in historical development.	Institutions and political behaviour were thought to evolve through some form of efficient historical process.	NI understands political life as the complex ensemble of unstable and troubled processes. The functionality of history is set under question but its contribution to the understanding of political life is assessed because of the unique and diverse path-dependent properties of specific socio-political contexts.

Appendix B: Comparing Northern and Southern European States in Western Europe

Northern European States

Southern European States

Patterns of Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Change

(Alonso and Maravall, 2003; Arts and Gellisen, 2002; Chorianopoulos, 2002; Crouch, 2003; Ferrera *et al.*, 2003; Geddes, 2005; Gibson, 2001; Gualini, 2006; Harvey, 1989; 1990; Ioannides and Debbage, 1997; Jessop, 2008a; John, 2001; Kleinman, 2002; Kourliouros, 1997; 2003; Leontidou, 1990; 1993; Lever, 2001; Magone, 2003; Mcneil and While, 2001; Montemagno, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Perrons, 1992; Pierre and Peters, 2000; Rhodes, M; 1997; Roccas and Padoa-Schioppa, 2001; Sapelli, 1995; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Stoker, 1998a)

There was little experience of civil wars and authoritarian regimes throughout the twentieth century, with the exception of the Nazi regime in Germany and the intervals of Nazi occupation in countries like Austria, Belgium and France. Capitalist growth and urbanization were for many years driven by the different phases of the industrial revolution. After the end of World War II, these processes were closely related with the transitions from Fordism to post-Fordism and from modernism to post-modernism. These transitions reflected a series of significant transformations in the patterns of production and consumptions, with an emphasis on flexibility and wider effects in processes of political and socio-cultural change. PostFordism and postmodernism have also been linked since the 1980s with the globalisation of economic system, de-industrialisation, the rise of tertiary economy, and with economic restructuring and regeneration projects at the regional and urban levels.

On the basis of strong traditions in the representation of interest groups, the post-war period saw arguments between neo-corporatist and neo-liberal approaches about the roles of the state and market in economic development. Since the 1990s, emphasis has been placed on multilevel interest intermediation, governance, the development of partnerships and policy networks, and the role of the EU.

Three traditions of welfare states exhibiting diverse traits: From the principles of egalitarianism, solidarity, universalism and the decommmodification of social rights in Scandinavian countries to the more segmented welfare states in the UK and Continental Europe with levels of decommmodification and inclusiveness. Differences also concern the priorities of relevant policies. Following changes in the nature of employment, the UK faced poverty problems and the polarization of incomes during the 1980s and 1990s as long as the Scandinavian and Continental European countries had to tackle issues of high costs and unemployment.

A rich history of civil wars and authoritarian regimes, with Greece being the only country fighting the Nazis and then experiencing the Nazi occupation: Apart from Italy, where democracy was consolidated right after the end of the World War II, Greece, Spain and Portugal virtually entered into periods of democratic stability only after 1974-75. Italy documented noteworthy differences between the undeveloped South (Mezzogiorno) and the developed North, with the latter exhibiting similar traits with Northern European areas. Yet weak industrialisation was the outcome, rather than the trigger of uncontrolled and spontaneous urbanization in Greece, Spain and Portugal with concerns about the lack of appropriate infrastructure and signs of environmental degradation. The housing construction sector and small and medium industries rather than large factories provided jobs for the poor rural labour force until the rise of service economy from the 1980s onwards that instigated the development of cultural, leisure, and tourism activities.

Delays in democratization were associated with patterns of inefficiency, clientelism, patronage, and corruption in the bureaucracies of public administration. Policies of regional economic development were based on a model of 'induced capitalism', resulted to regional inequalities and represented the compliance with national objectives rather than the expression of local aspirations. The central state was mainly responsible in the absence of competent local authorities and strong organized interest groups. The spirit of Europeanisation and the target of convergence enabled institutional and structural reforms (e.g. improvement of infrastructure; economic liberalization; privatisation of state firms, devolution of powers and grants, modernization of interest group representation).

Italy is included in the list of Continental European welfare states. However, Greece, Spain and Portugal are described as countries with rudimentary, unevenly developed, and fragmented welfare states. Work and welfare in these countries have been treated and protected as social rights. Yet, there are important challenges in achieving social justice concerning the benefits' distribution and financial viability, in light of adverse demographics, as well as in tackling black economy, organizational deficiencies, and high unemployment. Plans for the modernization of welfare state within the framework of the EU.

Northern European States

Southern European States

The Nature of Europeanization (Ioakimidis, 2001: 74-75) and the Governance of Regions

(Andreou, 2005; Ansell, 2000; Andrikopoulou and Kafkalas, 2004; Ansell, 2000; Chondroleou *et al.*, 2005; Chorianopoulos, 2002; Getimis and Grigoriadou, 2004; Featherstone and Kazamias, 2001; Getimis and Gregoriadou, 2004; Goldsmith, 2002; John, 2001; Jouve, 2005; Lalenis and Liogkas, 2002; Le Gales, 2005; Magone, 2003; Newman, 2000; Rees and Paraskevopoulos, 2006; Silva and Syrett, 2006; Yuill, 2005)

Responsive Europeanization: The transfer into the political system of the logic, norms, and dynamics of the EU was the result of spontaneous processes, guided by the penetrative impact and pressures of European integration upon the political system, rather than conscious political actions to stimulate modernization and change. Despite differences between federal and unitary states, recent patterns of regional and urban economic growth, especially under the influence of the EU, have triggered governance reforms such as the building of consultation mechanisms between state and non-state actors as well as the establishment of sub-national governments or the upgrade of the political legitimacy of existing ones. Although there are cases where the central state has reinforced its status and powers, ideas about the mobilisation of communities, the development of partnerships and coalitions, and influential political leadership have dominated debates over sustainable regional and urban economic development.

Intended Europeanization: With the exception of Italy, political actors in the second generation of EU member states (Greece, Spain, and Portugal) promoted Europeanization as a manifesto related to social and economic cohesion, the modernization of political systems and the progress of relevant reforms. In comparison to Northern European states, Europeanization in these countries was the result of deliberate efforts. Spain, as a federal state, has achieved to strengthen regional and local dynamics and adopt EU guidelines through the institution of autonomous communities, despite concerns for the control of funds by the national government and the amelioration of regional inequalities. The rest of unitary states have faced different kinds of challenges since the 1980s in reducing regional inequalities and building interregional partnerships. More essentially, significant reforms have faced resistance to change including the substantial transfer of strategic powers and financial resources from the national to the regional-local tiers of government along with the rationalization of public administration and the termination of clientelistic practices.

Tourism Development

(Bramwell, 2004a; 2004b; Britton, 1991; Buhalis, 2001; ETC and WTO, 2005; Ioannides and Debbage, 1997; Fayos-Sola, 1996; Komilis, 1994; Konsolas, 2002; Lafferty and va Fossen, 2001; Leontidou, 1993; Meethan, 1998; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Murayama, 2004; Page and Hall, 2003; Shachar, 1995; Shaw and Williams, 1998; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Williams, 2001; Williams and Shaw, 1998a; 1998b)

These countries provide and control the flows of mass tourists for Mediterranean destinations through an oligopolistic market. The emergence of mass tourism coincided with the expansion of Fordism after the end of the World War II and the whole phenomenon was grounded on patterns of mass production, standardisation, and mass consumption. Also, the advantage of large tour operators lied on their capacity to build extensive channels and achieve the vertical-horizontal integration of enterprises including airlines, travel agencies, and tour companies.

Changes in patterns of production and consumption (e.g. through technological advancements), as interpreted by the notions of post-Fordism and post-modernism, have challenged since the 1990s the predominance of mass tourism. Actually, they are closely related with the development of alternative forms of tourism with hybrid and personalized patterns of consumption (e.g. short breaks). Along with de-industrialisation and the rise of service-sector in urban economies, business and cultural tourism have become significant constituents of European cities and placed urban tourism among the most dynamic forms of tourism at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

The development of mass tourism has played an influential role through its contribution to the GDP, national income, the balance of payments, and employment as well as through the upgrade of the economic and social fabric in lagging areas and regions (e.g. the development of small and medium tourism enterprises; the links of tourism with other sectors). At the same time, there are concerns around the commodification of culture, environmental degradation, the dependence on specific markets, the predominance of national authorities and the empowerment of local communities in tourism planning, seasonality, the informality of employment, and the leakages of expenditures due to the dependency of mass tourism destinations upon foreign companies. These issues have been addressed by the EU and measures have been taken over the years, but it is questioned whether the EU has achieved to play a potent policy-making role.

The development of urban tourism is associated with the gradual disengagement from the dependency on mass tourism. Chapter Three shows that the case of Athens is linked to this debate, although the capital city emerged as the first tourism destination in Greece and lost its appeal during the rise of peripheral airports and summer resorts throughout the 1990s. It also shows that the central government has a key role in tourism policy-making, with concerns surfacing over the reflection of local governments and communities' aspirations in national policies.

Appendix C: Interrelated Trends in the Literature of Tourism Policy and Planning

The Changing Nature of Government Involvement

The identification of policy instruments and measures, through which national governments directly and indirectly intervene in tourism development and favour or discourage the expansion and operation of tourism activities, was the subject of early studies (Airey, 1983; Hughes, 1984; Jenkins, 1982; Jenkins and Henry, 1982).

Since then, scholars have been concerned with the varying structures and performances of national tourism organizations (Akehurst *et al.*, 1993; Baum, 1994; Choy, 1993; Elliott, 1997; Jeffries, 2001; Joppe, 1995; Pearce, 1989; 1991; 1992; 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; Veal, 2002), with the case of the 'Maison de la France' representing a solid formula of the trend for public-private partnerships (Lennon *et al.*, 2006; Owens 1992;). This trend exemplifies the idea of a shift from the traditional 'Market Vs State' debate, where political ideologies used to draw a dividing and decisive line between the main socio-political structures as well as between extreme laissez-faire and statist approaches to the provision of facilities and services. This is not to imply, however, that the formation of public policies and functions along with the way these are construed by state and non-state actors are insusceptible to the influence of international and domestic ideologies (Bramwell and Lane, 2005; Chambers and Airey, 2001; Church *et al.*, 2000; Dredge and Jenkins, 2003b; Elliott, 1997; Richards, 1995; Treuren and Lane, 2003; Veal, 2002).

What has recently attracted attention is the prospect of rationalizing the public sector's bureaucratic operation and 'tax and spend' attitude, with persistent emphasis on the goals of efficiency, effectiveness, competitiveness, and accountability. These goals are related to the distinction between the state's regulatory and facilitative roles, where the reproduction of political legitimacy requires simultaneous attention to economic and non-economic aspects (Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010), as well as to the restructuring of levels of administration and the simultaneous strengthening of relations with the private sector (Charlton and Essex, 1995; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b; Elliott, 1997; Fayos-Sola, 1996; Hall, 1998a; Holder, 1992; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Treuren and Lane, 2003; Wanhill, 2000). Despite the ostensibly corporatist flavour of this transformation, Hall (2000a; 2000b) underlines the fluidity and uncertainty surrounding the state's contemporary role in tourism. More recently, this is more than evident in efforts to interpret the notion of public interest in a period in which:

The Growing Role of Regional-Local Governments and Interest Groups

The 'hollowing out' thesis of the national state discussed in Chapter Two in particular applies in the policy area of tourism, where the planning and operation of each destination requires the active engagement of regional and local actors. Unsurprisingly, *"the need for coordination has become one of the great truisms of tourism planning and policy"* (Hall, 2000b: 146), although it *"is difficult in practice, and has challenged the tourism policy process for many decades"* (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003b: 439).

National governments strive to unravel the tourism policy thread through a perplexing array of ministerial departments and/or ministries of tourism, national tourism organizations, and government agencies of various forms, whose articulation differs from one country to another (Baum, 1994; Elliott, 1997; Jeffries, 2001; Jenkins and Dredge, 2007; Veal, 2002). Simultaneously, the restructuring of ex-industrial urban economies along with the trend of devolution and its appeal as a democratically legitimate process have enabled the reconsideration of the role of regional and local governments in the era of globalisation.

In the UK, Thomas and Thomas (1998) understand the impact of local authorities on tourism development from the 1980s onwards as secondary to that on the provision of social services. The same impact, however, is seen by these scholars as another effort by local authorities to put forward their own strategic visions for their areas, in accordance but not in compliance with the aspirations of authorities in London, and fulfil them by expanding their policy-making roles and tackling a broad range of issues.

Other studies have arrived at similar conclusions (Brown and Essex, 1989; Charlton and Essex, 1995; 1996; Church *et al.*, 2000; Evans, 2000; Jeffries, 2001; Meethan, 1998; Murayama, 2004; Palmer, 2009). A common point of reference is that the rescaling of powers and functions between tiers of governments is not a neat process, because it is not fully comprehended that vertical (inter-governmental) coordination is as important as the horizontal (intra-governmental) coordination of national authorities.

Due to the multifarious nature of tourism activities and impacts, it is also considered wise to adopt *"a conception of tourism based upon the fluid of interacting interests"* (Tyler and Dinan, 2001a: 210) and their manifold organizational expressions in terms of 'interest', 'interested', 'stakeholder', 'pressure', or 'lobbying' groups (Elliott, 1997; Fayos-Sola, 1996; Sautter and Leissen, 1999).

The Changing Nature of Government Involvement

“Governments are no longer able to claim that they operate for a collective public interest, an understanding of which is derived from the overarching expert knowledge of its civil servants. Instead, governments are increasingly faced with balancing different sets of competing values and making trade-offs about the public interest based on the more utilitarian view of benefit for the greater number” (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b: 53).

For instance, the private sector has shown its willingness to engage in collaborative arrangements with the public sector in the provision of tourism-related infrastructure, yet questions remain over the distribution of benefits and costs (Dredge and Thomas, 2009; Michael, 2001; O’ Fallon, 1993; Sakai, 2006). Similar concerns frequently arise over the amount and rationale of public expenditure on tourism marketing and promotion, especially in the framework of partnerships like the Maison de la France and the various destination management organisations and convention-visitors bureaus with fairly-inclusive memberships (Bennett, 1999; Bornhorst *et al.*, 2010; Bramwell and Rawding, 1994; Davidson and Maitland, 1997; Elbe *et al.*, 2009; Lennon *et al.*, 2006; Naipaul *et al.*, 2009; Palmer and Bejou, 1995; Pike, 2004; Prideaux and Cooper, 2002; Wang, 2008). While this expenditure is deemed necessary to ensure the uniform appeal of each destination and that benefits will accrue to all interested groups and sectors, collaborative ventures can imperil the sense of this activity as a public good and lead to its manipulation and marginalisation in favour of private partners (Britton, 1991; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b; Pearce, 1992). In considering also cases of mistreatment of public funds, for instance due to duplication of efforts, Jeffries (2001) along with Dredge and Jenkins (2003b) regard the policy area of tourism marketing as a proper example of why public agencies, with direct or indirect affinities to tourism, are asked to re-examine their operation, and face the challenge of enhancing relations within and beyond the boundaries of state apparatus.

The Growing Role of Regional-Local Governments and Interest Groups

In the tourism literature, a well-accepted definition of an interest group is that of *“any association or organisation which makes a claim, either directly or indirectly, on government so as to influence public policy without itself being willing to exercise the formal powers of government”* (based on Matthews, 1980; cited by Hall and Jenkins, 1995: 49).

Accordingly, studies from the UK (Greenwood, 1993; Tyler and Dinan, 2001a; 2001b) have confirmed the increasingly active role of business interest groups including professional associations and industry umbrella groups. As well as highlighting the fragmentation and lack of homogeneity among tourism-related professional segments, these studies reflect on power imbalances in the sense that interest groups enjoy different capacities while attempting to lobby public authorities and collaborate with them.

Other studies have extended the debate of what groups of actors can penetrate into and exert pressure on the realm of tourism public policy by focusing on voluntary groups and non-governmental organizations with environmental and socio-cultural agendas (Bramwell, 2004c; Erkus-Ozturk and Erayadin, 2010; Lovelock, 2002; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2000; 2002; Puppim de Oliveira, 2003; Strange, 1999).

As *“the reality of modern politics is that interest groups are becoming stronger and more vocal”* (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007b: 50), tourism research has to capitalize on its maturity. It seems to be time for more accounts of the ways and processes in which the public sector and the civil society interact, and succeed or fail to reproduce the conditions for the smooth coupling and evolution of their roles and activities; that is the governance of tourism development.

Appendix D: Statistics on the Recent Performance of Tourism in Athens

Domestic and Foreign Overnights in Attica and Greece (2003-2008)

	2003			2004			2005		
	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)
Domestic Bed Nights in all Accommodations*	2367974	14094641	16.8	2216812	13757825	16.11	2144310	14529739	14.75
Foreign Bed Nights in all Accommodations*	3442442	40407463	8.51	3690458	38796196	9.51	4005428	40734354	9.83
Total Bed Nights	5810416	54502104	10.66	5907270	52554021	11.24	6149738	55264093	11.12

*Including Nights Spent in all the Categories of Hotels, Guest Rooms, Boarding Houses, Furnished Suites, Camping Sites, and Summer Resorts

	2006			2007			2008		
	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)
Domestic Bed Nights in all Accommodations*	2277400	14742170	15.44	2689126	17338763	15.5	2592670	17650614	14.68
Foreign Bed Nights in all Accommodations*	4495136	43055381	10.44	5017437	48081473	10.43	4722681	47973949	9.83
Total Bed Nights	6772536	57796551	11.71	7706563	65420236	11.78	7315351	65624563	11.14

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

Distribution of Domestic and Foreign Overnights across the Prefectures of Attica (2002-2007)

Prefectures	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Prefecture of Athens	4831552	4706939	4833359	4968204	5494590	6031782
Prefecture of Eastern Attica	405067	412514	399583	609374	726193	980533
Prefecture of Western Attica	107176	117357	113230	113565	103361	121712
Prefecture of Piraeus	623662	573616	561098	458595	448392	572536
Attica	5967457	5810426	5907270	6149738	6772536	7706563

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

European Hotel Benchmarking 2004-2006

	Average Occupancy			Average Room Rate			Revenue per Available Room		
	2004	2005	2006*	2004	2005	2006*	2004	2005	2006*
Athens	62.8	62.5	70.5	133.32	106.44	109.51	83.74	66.57	77.23
Vienna	72.1	73	75.1	114.53	114.3	128.2	82.58	83.44	96.28
London	76..1	75.2	82.1	172.68	177.98	194.4	131.41	133.84	159.6
Paris	67.7	70.9	74.8	180.54	179.12	192.68	122.23	127	144.12
Berlin	65.7	65.9	69.1	108.43	105.78	119.19	71.24	69.71	82.36
Munich	68.9	69.7	70.7	126.83	123.53	138.12	87.39	86.1	97.65
Rome	67.5	72.3	76.9	186.93	188.4	201.52	126.18	136.21	154.97
Amsterdam	73.4	75.1	80.7	142.32	145.22	161.39	104.46	109.06	130.24
Barcelona	71	70.5	72.3	151.27	145.42	161.45	107.4	102.52	116.73
Madrid	64.7	68	70.3	131.45	127.88	139.87	85.05	86.96	98.33
Istanbul	65.3	74.3	71.2	113.09	139.77	161.57	73.85	103.85	115.04

Source: Attica-Athens Hotel Association: *Data about January-November 2006

Admissions to Selected Archaeological Sites of Attica by year for the period 2000-2007

Tickets Sold	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Akropolis of Athens	1253259	1132973	877502	770010	821657	1002459	1138597	1151587
Ancient Agora*	99500	98200	97127	110385	85490	117897	98753	94695
Dionyssus Theatre*	22696	15602	73583	76754	60865	197176	275402	335101
Keramikos*	10151	10055	48725	2584	24568	28458	43355	21328
Library of Adrianos	0	0	0	0	0	0	4380	23320
Olympio	34670	63421	76516	79373	102991	129564	170469	164276
Forum Romanum	10500	8300	21416	18531	24659	26250	28250	31800
<i>Total Acropolis et al</i>	<i>1430776</i>	<i>1328551</i>	<i>1194869</i>	<i>1057637</i>	<i>1120230</i>	<i>1501804</i>	<i>1759206</i>	<i>1822107</i>
Amfiario	1888	1761	8579	6816	4613	6279	4956	7597
Elefsina	4896	5225	9489	8115	8015	13640	15500	13105
Sounio	164622	137755	146188	149174	159665	255605	238687	212919
Ramnounta	2120	1779	1978	2184	2253	2711	2967	3544
Temple of Artemis ar Vravra	5621	6550	8070	6258	4754	8481	9409	7089
Temple of Afea at Egina	105856	91133	91667	82381	73937	77475	83647	88962
Temple of Apollo at Egina	7828	7516	8979	7220	7474	9280	9379	10157
Tomb of Marathon*	6647	4774	9500	6400	0	2363	7613	12951
<i>Total Rest of Archaeological Sites</i>	<i>299478</i>	<i>256493</i>	<i>284450</i>	<i>268548</i>	<i>260711</i>	<i>375834</i>	<i>372158</i>	<i>356324</i>
Total	1730254	1585044	1479319	1326185	1380941	1877638	2131364	2178431

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

*These archaeological sites remained closed during different periods in 2003 and 2004 due to renovation before the Olympic Games

Monthly Ticket Sales for the Akropolis of Athens (2005-2008)

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
2005	19635	22142	41416	70806	121155	129229	134015	135752	146368	120142	40356	21443	1002459
2006	20949	19511	39224	85105	173323	134185	151003	152969	158119	131711	49148	23350	1138597
2007	22845	25059	56234	100865	164839	147420	132994	151838	153488	123815	53017	19173	1151587
2008	21825	21892	42803	71758	126210	123571	151734	151366	165489	133348	46909	14335	1071240

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

Monthly Ticket Sales for Sounio (2005-2008)

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
2005	11279	11768	25474	22028	30591	27113	23782	28262	30376	28034	9145	7753	255605
2006	5000	6606	17333	23485	27365	26883	25438	27676	31373	27274	11207	9047	238687
2007	12493	8096	19093	25518	25394	21480	21887	25654	24264	18678	7187	3175	212919
2008	4839	3700	7657	12499	20681	17045	18651	21585	19678	18954	5094	2938	153321

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

Admissions to Selected Museums of Attica by year for the period 1999-2007

Tickets Sold	2000	2001	2002*	2003*	2004*	2005	2006	2007
Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens*	18061	28619	31030	23758	19155	56610	63185	66926
Benaki Museum	41852	50149	144788	175349	237896	196620	238988	200998
Canellopoulos Museum	2465	2514	9590	10472	13205	0	0	0
Epigraphical Museum of Athens	0	0	2173	225	3383	3252	3648	6760
Historical Museum of Modern Greece	9523	9809	19830	19389	18206	16752	18062	18610
Museum of Dafni Monastery	0	699	0	0	0	0	0	0
Museum of Kessariani Monastery	9460	6416	20416	24023	16209	22140	16468	12284
Museum of Popular Art	4899	3907	5896	4755	6466	8439	16997	14491
National Archaeological Museum	289619	261985	229123	0	155368	362866	368398	411564
National Picture Gallery	124563	62436	224482	173384	453212	143494	150477	134334
Numismatic Museum	3322	3074	7421	7509	8045	7707	7353	8189
Pireaus Archaeological Museum	3120	2785	6371	5921	3692	0	0	0
Tjistaraki Mosque Museum	1925	1284	3371	3439	5760	7574	6837	5613
<i>Total of Selected Athens Museum</i>	<i>508809</i>	<i>433677</i>	<i>704491</i>	<i>448224</i>	<i>940597</i>	<i>825454</i>	<i>890413</i>	<i>879769</i>
Kythira Byzantine Museum	0	0	2284	1920	1522	1899	1810	1331
Lavrio Museum	0	0	829	874	927	898	1282	617
Megara Archaeological Museum	0	0	0	0	0	1392	1284	997
Poros Archaeological Museum	0	0	0	0	978	3028	2267	2222
Spetses Museum	6601	6071	8009	5983	7100	6730	6465	5645
<i>Total of Rest of Museums</i>	<i>6601</i>	<i>6071</i>	<i>11122</i>	<i>8777</i>	<i>10527</i>	<i>13947</i>	<i>13108</i>	<i>10812</i>
Total	515410	439748	715613	457001	951124	839401	903521	890581

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

*Several museums remained closed during different periods due to renovation before the Olympic Games

Monthly Ticket Sales for the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (2005-2008)

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
2005	10196	11101	20068	25070	37198	37141	44063	50232	55567	45460	16297	10473	362866
2006	10295	10134	15363	35731	42306	41946	46957	52541	49169	40978	12891	10087	368398
2007	9231	15535	25316	35877	45629	45306	56366	64265	51967	40924	13589	7559	411564
2008	6546	5589	13941	19386	34287	36396	41757	44517	46006	34303	11724	5239	299691

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

Appendix E: Sampling Framework – List of Organisations and Interviewees

Central Government Agencies

1. Ministry of Tourism Development – General Director of Tourism Development
2. Ministry of Tourism Development - Director of Tourism Policy and Coordination
- * 3. Ministry of Tourism Development – Director of Investments and Operational Programmes
4. Ministry of Tourism Development – Director of Spatial Planning
5. Greek Tourism Organization – Head of Tourism Investments Section
- * 6. Greek Tourism Organization – Ex General Director of Tourism Development
7. Greek Tourism Organization – Director of Market Research and Advertising
8. Greek Tourism Organization – Director of Studies and Investments
9. Greek Tourism Organization – Head of Regional Service for the Region of Attica
10. Tourism Development Co. – Managing Director
11. Ministry for the Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works – Director of Spatial Planning in the General Directorate of Environment
12. Organization of Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens – President
13. Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens S.A. – President
14. Ministry of Culture – Director of Cultural Activities
15. Ministry of Culture – Director of Museums, Exhibitions and Educational Programs
16. Hellenic Festival S.A. – Head of Communication
17. Piraeus Port Authority S.A. – Head of European Union Bureau and Cruise Manager

Regional and Local Governments

- * 18. Athens Tourism & Economic Development Co. – Director of Tourism Development
19. Municipality of Piraeus – Deputy Mayor
20. Municipality of Kallithea (Coastal Municipality, South of Athens) – Deputy Mayor
21. Municipality of Palaio Faliro (Coastal Municipality, South of Athens) – Director of Environmental Protection and Green Areas
22. Municipality of Alimos (Coastal Municipality, South of Athens) – Mayor
- * 23. Municipality of Helliniko (Coastal Municipality, South of Athens) – Mayor

24. Municipality of Glifada (Coastal Municipality, South of Athens) – Mayor
25. Prefecture of Athens – Head of Tourism in the Central Directorate of Commerce and Tourism
26. Prefecture of Piraeus – Head of Advertising Activities, Conventions and Exhibitions in the Directorate of Tourism
27. Supra Prefecture of Athens & Piraeus – Supra-Prefect
28. Managing Authority of the Regional Operational Programme of Attica – Managing Director

Tourism-Traders Associations and Key Private Actors

29. Association of Greek Exhibition and Conference Organizers – President
30. Union of Licensed Tourist Guides of Athens – President
- * 31. Association of Greek Tourist Enterprises – General Director
32. Athens Traders Association – General Secretary
- * 33. Attica-Athens Hotel Association – Director
34. Attica Incoming Travel Agents Association – Vice-president
35. Business Federation of Rented Rooms and Apartments of the Saronic Gulf – President
36. Greek Professional Yacht Owners Bare Boat Association – President
37. Hellenic Professional Yacht Owners Association – President
38. Greek Rental Car Companies Association – Director
39. Hellenic Association of Professional Congress Organizers – President
40. Hellenic Association of Travel & Tourist Agencies - Director
41. Hellenic Chamber of Hotels – Director
42. Pan-Hellenic Federation of Tourism Enterprises – Vice-president
43. Piraeus Traders Association – President
44. Athens International Airport (Public Private Partnership Scheme) – Director of Marketing and Communication
45. Marina Zeas S.A (Public Private Partnership Scheme of the Marina at the Municipality of Piraeus) – General Manager
46. Lamda Technol Flisvos Marina S.A. (Public Private Partnership Scheme of the Marina at the Municipality of Palaio Faliro) – General Manager
47. Leo Burnett (Contractor of the Region of Attica Tourism Promotional Campaign) – Account Supervisor

48. PRC Group (Contractor of the Greek National Tourism Organization Marketing Plan for Greece) – Branding and Communication Senior Consultant

Voluntary Groups and other Individuals

49. Institute of Tourism Research and Forecasts- Senior Research Consultant

50. Greek Open University – Tourism and Marketing Professor

51-52. National Technical University of Athens / School of Architecture / Department of Urban and Regional Planning – 2 Professors of Urban and Regional Planning and Urban Tourism

53. Hellenic Society for the Protection of the Environment and the Cultural Heritage – Director of the Architectural Heritage Council

54. WWF Greece – Capacity Building, Ecotourism and Environmental Education Officer

55. Council for the Environment and Sustainable Development – Member of General Board and Consultant of the Council of State

* 56. Ecological Partnership (Citizen Group) of Palaio Faliro (Coastal Municipality, South of Athens) - President of the Citizen Group and Ex Vice-Mayor of the Municipality of Palaio Faliro.

57. Citizen Group for the Protection of Filopappou Hill (Heritage area very close to the west side of the Hill of the Parthenon, Athens City Centre) – Charter Member

58. Citizen Group of Alexandras Square, Freatidas Beach and Marina of Zeas (Municipality of Piraeus) – Charter Member

59. Coordinating Committee for the Preservation of Public Spaces in Athens – Charter Member

60. Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (Second Party in the Parliament of 2008) – Member of the Parliament and Ex President of Olympic Properties S.A

61. Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (Second Party in the Parliament of 2008) – Member of the Parliament Responsible for Tourism Issues

* I had twice had the opportunity to discuss with this interviewee

Appendix F: Data Collection and Analysis

Introductory Letter to Interviewees and Organisations

Date:

Email:

Tel:

To whom it may concern

My name is Pantazis Pastras and I am a doctorate student at the University of Birmingham undertaking research funded by the State Scholarships Foundation on tourism development and collaboration in the Prefectures of Athens and Piraeus. I will be in Athens undertaking research between October to November 2007.

I am interested in the policies of tourism development in Athens along with the roles of the different bodies of the public sector and interest groups and their different relationships. The involvement of your organisation is considered essential in order for me to meet my study's objectives. I would therefore like to request your assistance with this work, and am writing to ask permission to visit you, at a time convenient to you, to conduct an interview. The key areas that will be covered in this interview include:

- The connection of your organization to the policies of tourism development.
- Relationships of your organization with other actors of tourism development.
- The processes regarding the formulation of strategies and the implementation of actions.
- Your views about the level of collaboration and the role of other actors.
- Your views about the future of tourism development in Athens.

In addition, it would be extremely helpful if you could provide me with relevant documents providing background information about your organisation. The interview should last no longer than an hour and the anonymity of all research participants is guaranteed in accordance with the University of Birmingham's guidelines on research ethics. I want to thank you in advance for your time and assure you that after the completion of my thesis I will provide you with a synopsis of my research conclusions and recommendations. I will be in contact in due course to discuss the possibility of organising the interview. In the meantime, if you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me in Athens after the 25th of September.

Yours faithfully, Pantazis Pastras & my supervisors Jane Lutz and Lisa Goodson

Amended Interview Topic Guide (including indicative probes)

Introduction: My name is Pantazis Pastras and I am a doctorate student at the University of Birmingham with a scholarship from the State Scholarships Foundation. Two years ago, I decided to undertake a research about tourism development in Athens mainly because Athens has not received so far the attention of academics. After numerous theoretical explorations, I have ultimately focused on the institutional context of tourism policy and planning, the role of the public sector and the forms of relationships among diverse tourism interest groups within the Prefectures of Athens and Piraeus. Being now almost at the end of the second year of my course, this interview is part of the 2nd round of primary research including discussions with people from organizations relevant to the afore-mentioned themes and the collection of relevant documents. Hence, I would like to make you some questions regarding the following issues.

- The connection of your organization to the policies of tourism development.
- Relationships of your organization with other actors of tourism development.
- The processes regarding the formulation of strategies and the implementation of actions.
- Your views about the level of collaboration and the role of other actors.
- Your views about the future of tourism development in Athens.

Are you happy to talk about these issues? It will probably take about 1hr. I also want to ask your permission for recording our discussion, something that will facilitate my later analysis but will not set in danger the confidentiality and anonymity of your statements. Please try to be as open as possible so that we can unfold your views regarding the afore-mentioned issues. I will be also grateful if you can provide me access to documents which outline the status and activities of the organization as well as its relations with other organizations. Finally, it is needless to point out again that after the completion of my thesis I will provide you a report with the main conclusions of my study. Do you have any question before we start? Before we begin, I would like you to tell me a few words about yourself, your position in this organization. Are you related with other activities relevant to tourism?

Section 1: Actors and the Policy-Institutional Context of Tourism Development

I would like to start our discussion asking you about the policies of tourism development in Athens and the relevance of your organization to relevant processes.

- 1) To begin with, can you explain the role your organization plays in tourism policy making and practice in Athens? *Probe: background information.*
- 2) What do you think about the planning of tourism development in Athens? *Probe: In what areas do you identify changes in comparison with the past? What do you think of these changes and their impact on tourism development in relation also to the public sector's role?*

- 3) How would you describe the level of influence your organisation has in policy formation and implementation? *Probe: How the objectives of your organization correspond to the wider policy context of tourism development? Examples of the organization's intervention.*
- 4) Can you suggest how your organisation could strengthen its policy role? *Probe: Are there any constraints towards this direction?*

Section 2: Issues of Collaboration-Networking

We have spoken so far about the activities of your organization/department. In the research area of tourism policy and planning, however, it is placed emphasis on the development of partnerships as a means of achieving objectives.

- 5) To concentrate first of all on your organization/department, when you are undertaking actions/initiatives with respect to tourism development in Athens with what other organizations / interest groups do you work? *Probe: Are there any constrain when you are working with other organizations?*
- 6) Can you describe the type of these relationships? *Probe: Are these relationships premised upon formal or informal processes?*
- 7) What are the impacts of these relationships? *Probe: for examples of positive or negative practice?*
- 8) Have any of these relationships been modified in the course of time? *Probe: For what reasons? Can you think of cases where past experience has helped the organization to adjust its strategies and partnerships?*

Section 3: Conclusion – Future of Tourism Development and Collaboration

At the end of this interview, I am interested in whether you feel optimistic or not about the future of tourism development and collaboration in Athens.

- 9) What would your suggestions be for strengthening tourism policies and collaboration in Athens? *Probe: Do you see the existence of some kind of a vision about these issues?*

Summary of Key Points

I have no further questions. Do you have anything more you want to bring up or ask about, before we finish this interview? Overview – Summary of key points towards the researcher, Thank-you note! If anything else comes to mind that you think would be important to the study, please feel free to get in contact with me! Also, is it ok if I want to call you for any clarifications sometime in the near future? Finally, who else you think might be an informative choice as interviewee?

Sample of the Contact Summary Sheet

Contact Type _____ Site _____

Organization _____ Date _____

Start Time _____ Finish Time _____

Name of the Interviewee _____

Position in the Organization _____

Age: 21 – 30 ☐ 31 – 40 ☐ 41 – 50 ☐ 51 – 60 ☐ 60+ ☐

A. What were the main issues or themes that struck me in this contact?

B. Summary of Information I got (or failed to get) in each of the Thematic Areas.

1. The Role of the Organization

2. The Nature of and Perceptions about the Policy / Institutional Context of Tourism Development

3. Collaboration / Networking

4. Overall Perceptions about the Role of each Group of Actors and the Future of Tourism Development-Collaboration

C. Conditions of interview and overall impression.

D. Anything else that struck me as salient, interesting, or unexpected in this contact?

E. What new (or remaining) questions should I ask whether I have another interview with this site?

Contact Summary Sheet of one Interview

Contact Type: Regional-Local Self Governments, Site: Ksenofondos 7, Syntagma Square

Organization: Athens Tourism & Economic Development Company D.S.A

Name of the Interviewee:

Position in the Organization: Director of Tourism Development

Date: 31/10/2007, Start Time: 14.45, Finish Time: 16.05

Age: 21 – 30 ☐ 31 – 40 ☒ 41 – 50 ☐ 51 – 60 ☐ 60+ ☐

A. What were the main issues or themes that struck me in this contact?

- Organizational Jurisdictions at the Local Level but Activities that Cover the Region of Attica mainly in tourism marketing and management.
- Pioneering Activities such as the staging of the Expo City Break 2007 and the establishment of the Athens Convention Bureau
- Necessity for a Metropolitan Perspective on Athens Tourism Development – Potentials for the Future Role of the Organization through its transformation to a Development Anonymous Co.
- Optimistic Perceptions despite the existence of Problems
- Relationships with other Tourism and Business Actors

B. Summary of Information I got (or failed to get) in each of the Thematic Areas.

1. The Role of the Organization (see above)

2. The Nature of and Perceptions about the Policy / Institutional Context of Tourism Development

- Athens has strengthened its position as a tourism destination because of all the developments that happened before and after the Olympic Games.
- The planning of tourism development in Athens is dominated by central government agencies but in the case of Athens there are reasons which suggest that tourism planning should take place at the regional or metropolitan level.
- There are policy areas where significant developments are taking place at the national level but they are also expected to influence positively individual regions (e.g: Special Framework on Spatial Planning for Tourism & Marketing Plan for Greek Tourism).
- There are still weaknesses regarding the participation of actors beyond the central government.

3. Collaboration / Networking

- Relationships with Central Government Agencies because of the central role they play in the planning of tourism development in Athens.
- Relationships with the tourism and business community and inclusion of some important actors in the organization's board of directors.
- Relationships with other regional-local authorities – Vision for a metropolitan administrative structure regarding tourism development in Athens.

4. Overall Perceptions about the Role of each Group of Actors and the Future of Tourism Development-Collaboration

- Weaknesses of Regional-Local Self Government, Multi-fragmentation of Responsibilities
- Dominance of the Central Government Agencies, Multi-fragmentation of Responsibilities
- Crucial but also controversial the role of tourism and business community
- Necessity for coordination and convergence between actors – Discussion of a Metropolitan Tourism Structure - Potential for the Future Role of this Organization
- Optimistic thoughts about the future despite well-established challenges in the public sector.

C. Conditions of interview and overall impression.

- Very friendly person and open to help me further, if necessary.
- People at regional-local authorities are possible to work in much better conditions than people working in central government agencies.
- I have to listen very carefully the recording because after a point I felt too tired and I am not sure that I covered all the issues that I was aiming to cover.

D. Anything else that struck me as salient, interesting, or unexpected in this contact?

- His comments about the role of other actors within the committee board of the organization. He said that tourism associations were happy not to contribute with money for instance.

E. What new (or remaining) questions should I ask whether I have another interview with this site?

- I should try to learn more about the repercussions of the organization's transformation in 2008 to a Development Anonymous Company under the supervision of the Municipality of Athens.
- Participation of other actors in schemes such as the Athens Convention Bureau.
- More examples about the benefits and constraints of networking.
- Current relationships with other regional-local authorities within the Region of Attica.

Translated Transcription of one Interview

Interviewer: Hello, my name is Pantazis Pastras and I am a doctorate student at the University of Birmingham, with a scholarship from the State Scholarships Foundation. I am studying the policies that shape tourism development in Athens and relationships between relevant actors. Hence, I would like to have a discussion with you about these issues as part of my primary research, which includes interviews with representatives from government agencies, regional-local authorities, private associations and non-governmental organizations. Is this ok with you?

Interviewee: It is fine.

Interviewer: To begin with, can you explain me the role your organization plays in tourism policy making and practice in the metropolitan area of Athens?

Interviewee: The Organization for Tourism and Economic Developments of Athens (OTEDA)⁸⁴ has been operating since June 2005, under the Municipality of Athens, and members of its board of directors are the 'Hotel Chamber of Greece', the 'Association of Greek Tourist Enterprises', the 'Hellenic Association of Tourist and Travel Agencies', and the 'Hellenic Retail Business Association'. Main goals of the OTEDA are the further exploitation of the Olympic heritage and the building of common fields of cooperation among the actors of tourism economy in Athens and Attica. We believe that these goals will enable us to promote the contemporary capital city of Greece as an attractive and popular tourism destination able to offer tourism services of the highest level throughout the year.

Within this framework, we are concentrating on activities of tourism development, management and promotion, which are included in the three-year strategic plan that you already have at your disposal. Important activities so far have been the staging of the International Exhibition 'City Break Expo 07' and the annual conference of 'European Cities Tourism' as well as the promotion of the city's new image.

Interviewer: What do you mean when you refer to the city's new image?

Interviewee: I am referring to all these elements and infrastructures that constitute the image of Athens after the Olympic Games and its key competitive advantages in comparison with other popular European urban destinations. We are talking about the upgraded hotel stock, the new ultra-modern network of urban transportation, the contemporary sports facilities, the shopping centres, the regeneration of the city's historical centre, and the fact that visitors in Athens can have easy and quick access to the sea. It is not pointless to add here the importance and global popularity of the city's cultural and historical heritage, especially now that the unification of archaeological sites has created the biggest archaeological park of Europe at the city's historical centre. All these elements are crucial for the growth of conference, cultural and sports tourism. The recent staging of the 'City Break Expo 07' and the contacts we had with many tour operators confirmed that the image of Athens has been considerably improved in the tourist market, capitalizing on the positive promotion of Olympic Games'. In addition,

⁸⁴ The OTEDA was transformed at the beginning of 2008 to the 'Athens Tourism and Economic Development Company'. In order to explore the evolution of this organizational structure and its significant impact on tourism development in Athens I also had an additional discussion with the same interviewee during the second round of fieldwork. The current transcript, however, comes from the first interview in October 2007.

Athens is favoured by the tourist market trends, which currently enable the emergence of new urban tourism destinations.

Interviewer: Do you believe that all these features have put Athens in a better position than its competitors?

Interviewee: I am not saying that we are suddenly better than everybody else. In the best case, such a statement would not match with the indicators of tourism statistics. What I am saying is that a commentary about the position of Athens is dependent on the perspective of analysis. If somebody examines each point individually, I believe that Athens may be in front of many other destinations, especially after the Olympic Games. We have not just put ourselves again into the map. As I told you earlier, if we consider our hotel stock, nowadays we have the most recently upgraded and renovated hotels in Europe. Of course, somebody else could ask in turn, 'how many 5 star hotels or hotel chains do you have'? My answer will be that again it is dependent on what your targets are as a destination. The majority of surveys on city-breaks' point out that city-breakers stay in 3 and 4 star hotels, preferably in 3 star hotels. When we currently have the most upgraded 3 stars hotel stock, this is an important competitive advantage for both our key customer targets, namely the city-breakers and conference participants.

Interviewer: I do not want to move away so soon from your organization's activities and we will definitely return. You have referred, however, to the hotel stock of Athens, which is a crucial issue in regional tourism policy. What do you think about the 'Saturation' legislation and the wider planning of tourism development in the region of Athens-Attica?

Interviewee: This is a dark and shadow zone that is under discussion for many years. I think that the law for saturated areas is dated back in 1982 or something like that.

Interviewer: It was ratified in 1986.

Interviewee: Yes, indeed. They had identified then the problem and tried to find a solution. But this decision provoked reactions and it came in contrast even with subsequent legislation. What is the meaning of the Saturation status? No new building licences should be given. In the case of Greece, and I know that very well also from my hometown in the Peloponnese, the result was the further expansion of illegal building, so I do not know whether this law did make any contribution.

Nowadays, there is an important effort for a first time on behalf of the government with the special plan for the spatial planning and sustainable development of tourism. And although there are already objections from many actors, I think this plan will clarify the landscape of tourism development through the definition of land uses and tourism development boundaries in each area. Now that the saturation is not valid anymore, I hope that in the case of Attica will be included a clause which is already included in legislation about the areas of controlled tourism development. Such a clause will not prevent the building of 5 star accommodation establishments. This was a big debate both before and after the Olympics, there were many objections on behalf of local hoteliers but the negative result is that we have not added to our hotel stock the presence of international hotel chains.

Interviewer: One interviewee from a tourism association justified this reaction saying that the further development of hotels would not facilitate the maintenance of a balance between tourism offer and demand in Athens.

Interviewee: I have to give him some credit because currently the hotel occupancies of Athens do not need more rooms and beds. It might be perfect if you could bring four or five companies in terms of international hotel chains because they have their own customer networks and would immediately make a positive impact. They would however absorb their clientele from the rest of 4 and 5 stars hotels of Greek businessmen, which is something that I do not know whether it is desirable even at the level of a municipal authority like ours. You may want these chains in order to generate additional tourist traffic. In the case of Athens, where it is observed an improvement in hotel occupancies but the indicators of revenues per available room, average room rate and average length of stay are still low, you first need to strengthen other aspects of the tourism product and then start thinking of adding more hotel rooms and beds.

I want to hope that such issues will be re-examined during the public consultation on the special plan for tourism. You must check it out because it identifies a special geographical territory which deals exclusively with urban tourism in urban and metropolitan areas. The ratification and implementation of the spatial plan of tourism will lead to the withdrawal of other inconsistent laws and provisions. It is eventually time for all the different development policies to move in parallel with spatial and regional planning.

Interviewer: We will return later on tourism policy issues. I prefer now to concentrate on the activities of your organisation. We have talked so far about the city's new image and I want to ask you what activities you undertake in order to capitalize on this image. Also, is this the only field in which you are active?

Interviewee: We do not confine ourselves. We put emphasis on our extroversion through the participation in international tourism fairs and the publication of printed and electronic promotional material. Such activities may sound somehow elementary and I know that, for instance, even in a small town in England respective authorities may be able to undertake this kind of activities. In the case of Athens, however, it is the first time that a municipal authority undertakes such initiatives. We also aim to the continuous research of tourism industry trends as well as to the establishment of strategic partnerships at the national and international levels.

The truth is that tourism policy is decided at the national level by the Ministry of Tourism Development, and the role of municipalities is to implement at the local level the central guidelines and plans of responsible central government agencies. Regional and prefectural authorities also play an important role in the development, management and promotion of the city's tourism product, while small municipalities do not participate very much in these processes. The difference here is that the Municipality of Athens is stronger than other municipal authorities not only because of the city's population but also because Athens is the capital city and administrative centre of Greece. Nevertheless, this particularity does not relieve us from administrative difficulties, which emanate from the centralised structures and the low empowerment of local authorities as a repercussion of the Greek administrative model. To be honest, the development of a long-term partnership between the national leadership of tourism and our organization is a prerequisite for the production of desirable results.

Interviewer: How would you, therefore, describe your organization's influence?

Interviewee: The influence of this structure is peripheral so far, because we have less than two years as an autonomous agency under the municipality instead of being a simple department. The more the organization expands its turnover the more its influence will increase and meet international standards. I believe that organizations like ours are the most flexible structures in terms of local authorities. We are open to the prospect of partnerships and have included members of tourism and traders associations in the board of directors. Yet, currently the most important step is the organization's transformation to a development corporation of the Municipality of Athens, which will start operating from the beginning of 2008

Nevertheless, when in the case of Athens there are numerous regional and local bodies such as the Region of Attica, the Supra-prefecture of Athens-Piraeus, two prefectures in the region of Athens-Piraeus and two more in the wider region of Attica, and finally dozens of municipal authorities, the existence of a metropolitan government could be really influential at all policy levels including the case of tourism planning and development. The existence of a metropolitan authority could compensate for the weaknesses of local authorities. Unfortunately, the Greek administrative model puts a bureaucratic hotchpotch of processes against municipalities, especially when activities are concerned the wider area and are not restricted within the geographical administrative boundaries of each municipality.

Interviewer: Do you therefore consider necessary the convergence of many actors for tourism development in Athens?

Interviewee: I prefer the term metropolitan tourism development, and allow me to insist on this term because we are competing with metropolitan municipalities, although we do not have a metropolitan administrative structure. We must find the golden mean. The publicised national plan for the spatial planning and sustainable development classifies our area as a metropolitan one. I am afraid, however, that it will be politically difficult for this plan first to become a law of the state and then to be successfully implemented. The reason is that the enactment of such a plan should lead to very serious administrative reforms. Also, the political cost can be very high if you to decide to replace all the existing regional and prefectural governments with a new metropolitan one. We are now discussing beyond the realm of tourism, but such a metropolitan government should be flexible and strong otherwise there is no reason for creating it. The Supra-Prefecture of Athens and Piraeus could have made a difference, but so far it has been restricted to a small and unsatisfactory coordinative role.

It is a fact that there is a multi-fragmentation of powers, that is the right word for what is going on not only in regional and local governments but also in the landscape of tourism development. The problem in the case of Athens is that this phenomenon is more intensive than anywhere else. As long as the area of Attica does not have a metropolitan administrative structure, regardless it would have the name and the form of the Region or the Prefecture of Attica, it cannot be equally compared with its international competitors. Under these circumstances and due to the fact that even if they decide to create a metropolitan administrative structure it will take a long time, the OTEDA typically has a limited scope while representing only the city of Athens.

We must integrate and exploit all the diverse elements of the tourism product in the wider area of Athens and communicate them with the globally famous brand name of Athens to make the area a competitive destination at the international level. Such a goal necessitates the existence of metropolitan administrative structures or at least of metropolitan partnerships, even at the

simple level of communication among the various actors, as a sound option for a strategic approach in regional tourism development under a common branding identity. It is irrational for all regional and local governments not to promote the wider area of Attica with the brand name of Athens, which is without doubt the most recognizable. There is no point to further confuse tour operators and visitors with different marketing messages when we are referring to different parts of an area in which Athens, for good or bad, is the dominant element.

Interviewer: Why do you think there is confusion regarding the promotion of Athens?

Interviewee: Because currently each one of the regional-local governments communicates with its own approach the brand name of Athens. Confusion is inevitable. I suppose that some municipalities undertake similar individual initiatives regarding their own areas. Sometimes of course there are partnerships too. For instance, we recently signed a cooperation memorandum with the Municipality of Piraeus, so from now on we will stay in touch and we will examine the –possibility of mutual activities. I know you would like to know more about it, but it is a slow process which is hindered not only by the current timing after the elections but also by the financial problems of the Municipality of Piraeus.

As well as establishing channels of communication with other actors, we must also have in mind the potential economies of scale. Through our active participation in the European Cities Tourism network, we have lately received access to data on the financial resources of some of our competitive cities in tourism policy and promotion. I sat down one day and made a crude calculation of the available budgets for promotion by different actors within the region of Attica. The truth is that the summation of funds for tourism promotion in the different areas of Attica reflects a not inconsiderable amount in comparison with the respective budgets of European urban tourism destinations and respective destination management organisations. The problem is that there is no common level of comparison for instance between the ‘Turisme de Barcelona’ budget and with the individual budgets of all different actors in our region. But again, I believe we can be competitive not only in terms of funds but also because of our very strong brand name.

Other members of the European Cities Marketing highlighted the competitive advantage of our brand name. I remember the CEO of Nottingham who explained me that he gave 1 million Euros in order to create a destination management system for his city, and I thought it was a very big amount. He was very proud. I went to make a presentation about Athens with a composition of elements from the Olympic Games, etc. When I finished I met him again. I told him that we have neither a destination management system nor a tourist information centre, and that such activities are included in the next programmatic period. He was impressed because we have such a good product and brand name but we do not have enough resources for promotion, whereas he had spent so much money for not one of the biggest British cities. What I am trying to say is that we must realize our strengths and capitalize on them, because we are quite pessimistic and always concentrate on negative aspects. Mistakes of course happen, but we are in a better position now and must be more determined in the future. The exploitation has already started, although more things should have happened and that is why all actors should cooperate with each other. At least, in the case of our organization, we are moving to this direction.

Interviewer: This sounds ok, but you have identified weaknesses in the role of local governments.

Interviewee: They are not simple weaknesses; the problem of the local administration is that it has very few powers especially in policy areas like tourism. Generally in Greece we have centralised administrative structures. Especially in the case of tourism, however, there is a strong established perception that tourism is an exclusive responsibility of the central government, probably because of the existence of the Greek Tourism Organization, which has been the key organization since the 1950s. Even the new administrative structure that was established in 2004, I mean the Ministry of Tourism, has not accomplished so far to undertake initiatives because it does not have enough powers.

This is exactly what also happened in the case of regional services. They belonged to the Greek Tourism Organisation, were transferred to the Regions, and returned again to the Greek Tourism Organisation. If I am not wrong, they are operating typically again from the beginning of 2006. Believe me nobody knows what exactly happened. The General Secretaries of the Regions are responsible for the management of regional funds, and I know there is a tourism committee within the Region of Attica similar to the committees for tourism promotion in each one of the prefectures. The prefecture committees however are official institutional bodies, whereas the tourism committee of each region is an informal body for consultations between the region and private associations without a clear focus on tourism.

Interviewer: In the case of your organization, have you faced any constraints because of its status as a body of local administration?

Interviewee: We were talking earlier about the activities of the strategic plan. I must tell you that some of these activities were not implemented because of the transfer of high and medium level staff after the last elections. Of course, many of these activities were completed successfully like the staging of the ‘City-Break Expo 07’, while others will be included in the strategic plan of the new organization that will emerge in 2008. The results could have been even better, however, had we not had all these changes, which always cause repetition of discussions, waste of time, and less frequently the abandonment of certain actions. I think that the new organization will be less susceptible to this kind of problems and more productive and flexible because it will have a more concise agenda and responsibilities. I can talk to you about all the activities that we hypothetically could do, but I think that nobody needs more promises that will never become true. The difference with the future scheme is that we are talking about a development company of the Municipality of Athens with a much more flexible financing system both from the central government and the municipality itself.

All urban non-profit organizations were facing severe financial problems and many of them were not even eligible for European funds. According to the new code of municipalities and communities, all the urban non-profit organizations have very limited financial resources, because it is not allowed anymore the completion of action plan contracts with the government and municipalities. The only categories of enterprises which have the institutional possibility to complete action plans and funding contracts are the special purpose entities, but the case of our organization cannot be considered one of those because we have a wider scope. The other enterprise is the simple company, which cannot complete action plan contracts but is quite flexible in terms of funding sources. Finally, it is case of the development company, which is open, operates as a regular company, and has the possibility of completing action plan contracts both with ministries and municipalities. We have therefore solved our major problem of funding, while we can also proceed to profit-making activities, which will secure our financial viability and allow us to operate at the same level with destination management organizations from abroad.

Interviewer: It seems that your organization is considerably strengthened by this transformation.

Interviewee: If all these benefits help us to expand our range of activities to all fields of tourism development, management and promotion, then we will be able to talk not only about a significant empowerment but also about a pioneering initiative within the wider framework of Greek tourism.

Interviewer: Yes, but you also mentioned earlier that in the current organization you have the participation of some professional tourism and business groups. What will happen with them?

Interviewee: All the actors that participate in the capital stock of the current organization will not participate in the capital stock of the development company. The reason is that new capital stock will be considerably bigger than the old one. We have thought that it would not be useful to ask their financial contribution, because if they were giving the same amount of money it would be extremely small within the new capital stock. We did not want to make them feel that their contribution would be symbolic, and we knew that they would not be able to increase their amount of contribution. We have therefore decided to allow their participation in the board of the directors without any financial weight. Don't forget that the majority of professional tourism organizations, possibly with the exception of the Association of Greek Tourist Enterprises, have limited financial resources and they are not able to provide substantial support either in promotional activities or general in the funding of a whole destination management organization. We have set high standards because that is the only way we can compete with other destinations, but this means that funding is a very sensitive issue.

Interviewer: Don't you worry that the tourism associations could not be very positive about this decision?

Interviewee: On the contrary, I think they are happier now because they still have the right to participate in decision-making without paying anything. If we want to be honest, this is the way the private sector contemplates partnerships with the public sector. I can imagine that they will tell you all the bad aspects of the public sector, but I doubt whether they will mention their own mistakes and false practices. Before I come here, I was working in the private sector as well as in a professional council, which plays the role of the consultant for the public sector but represents the private sector. When I was working there, I had a very negative opinion about the public sector and its imperfections. When I started working here, however, I realized that the private sector in Greece is very immature and can make difficult the life and tasks of the public sector because it has a very narrow way of thinking about the role of the state. Above all, they are not ready to put the hand in the pocket, although they are very demanding and rarely have a good word for whatever the public sector does.

Interviewer: Can we say that both sides have their share of responsibilities of what you are describing?

Interviewee: I do not believe that the responsibility for something bad or good belongs only to one actor. In Greece, we are chewing this comfortable caramel, whose label says that for any negative aspect the state is the only responsible. Both of us here know that the public sector in Greece has many problems. But it is not fair whenever something is wrong to point the finger to the public sector, whereas never say a good word for something right. There must be a deeper mentality problem, and this is also case in relationships among private actors.

Interviewer: It is difficult so far to understand why there is such a gap between the public and the private sector. What I have noticed is that some professional tourism groups express positive opinions for what is going on lately. I am referring to the previous governmental term, which has been extended after the elections of last September. Can you identify any changes in tourism policies and practice during this government's administration?

Interviewee: The government's reforms during the last four years have made a drastic contribution in various fields of tourism policy, while you hear very often statements from official lips about the importance of tourism for national economy. The creation of the Ministry of Tourism Development was the starting point of these reforms because it generated a vivid debate regarding issues that had remained unsolved for many years. We also have to admit that in some cases this debate has resulted to the undertaking of necessary initiatives such as the special plan for the spatial planning of tourism, the framework for the development of partnerships between the public and the private sector or even the categorization of hotels according to the international system of stars. In the meantime, the new leadership of tourism public administration decided a spectacular increase of the tourism promotion budget and we have already seen the positive results of this decision. Marketing issues in general are treated more systematically and the contribution of the strategic consultant has played a major role through the elaboration of the Greek Tourism Marketing Plan. The crucial thing in our case is that the Marketing Plan has separately treated the 'City-Breaks' section. It has been decided how 'Athens' is going to promote itself for the subsequent years and that is why the strategic plan of the Development S.A for 2008 incorporates a series of activities under the label 'Destination Branding'. It is time to build an identity for Athens as a city-break, conventions and meetings destination.

Interviewer: Did you participate during the preparation of the Marketing Plan?

Interviewee: The OTEDA has participated in all consultations with the strategic consultant regarding the 'City-Breaks' section. All the actors that participated in these consultations have a draft version of the conclusions, but I cannot give it to you because I do not know whether it can go in public. There were also separate studies for each one of the nine marketing sections and we have at our disposal since last July the city-breaks study. Again, I do not honestly know whether I can give it to you because it is not our own paper. In any case I can tell you that it is a very thorough study, which is equal or even better of other depictions of the city-breaks market that have been published in abroad and have come to my notice.

Interviewer: Excuse me, but I cannot remember whether we mentioned what other actors participated in the consultations with the strategic consultant of the Marketing plan.

Interviewee: In the City-Break section there were also the Association of Greek Tourism Enterprises, the Attica-Athens Hotel Association, the Hellenic Chamber of Hotels and the Hellenic Association of Tourist and Travel Enterprises. You must keep in mind that usually the same people participate in more than one associations and most of them are hoteliers. You will find out there are 30-40 persons who participate in the board of directors of all professional tourism groups.

Interviewer: I have to admit that the picture you have given me is much more positive than what I was expecting and you also told me that the marketing plan has a separate section about Athens. I can also say that your description is much more optimistic than what I have been told so far, especially by people in tourism associations.

Interviewee: I am telling you again that we must keep a balance in the allocation of praises and criticisms. I will tell you something that I am absolutely sure that tourism actors will also tell you. Whatever positive happens nowadays, it does not change the fact that Athens was absent for many years from the provisions of national and regional tourism policy. If you also take into account a series of serious problems that go beyond the realm of tourism development, such as the degradation of urban environment, it would not be an exaggeration for somebody to argue that Athens had been left behind many other urban tourism destinations. The occasion of the Olympic Games benefited in many ways the whole city and above all through the building of important infrastructure. The issue, however, is that we have not still prepared and implemented a long-term strategic plan for tourism development, management and promotion that will emanate either from a metropolitan administrative structure or from a broad metropolitan partnership under the supervision of the Ministry of Tourism Development and the Greek Tourism Organization.

Interviewer: Do you mean something like the plan of the Greek Tourism Organization's study in 2003?

Interviewee: This is a good example but I am talking about something more than a diagnostic analysis of the current situation along with proposals without timetables, budgets, and specific objectives that will enable monitoring. Such a plan would need to be very clear about the role of each one of the directly and indirectly related actors, the activities that should be undertaken and the indicators that should be used like measures. Another crucial issue is that such a plan would need the full and long-term commitment of the various actors if it were to become effective. Commitment is absolutely crucial because it is horrible to delay, change or re-examine your plans every time there is a change in the position of the Minister of Tourism or the General Secretary of the Greek Tourism Organization. An even worst scenario might be the suppression of previous work and I think that this is the case of the study of 2003 that you mentioned before! All these studies about tourism development in regions were published a few months before the change of the government in 2004. Nobody knows what exactly happened with them during the new government's term.

Interviewer: Can you give any explanation?

Interviewee: I can put a bet that in the Greek Tourism Organization they will tell you that separate activities of this study have been completed. It is not, however, the job of the Greek Tourism Organization to invest important resources in order to organize a sophisticated scientific plan and, instead of implementing it, to undertake individual activities whenever it is comfortable. It is a really bitter story and good evidence of the central administration's mentality, which suffers from polarisation between political parties in Greece. All these things are keeping us behind.

Interviewer: I have to agree with you but how is it possible to be accomplished a long-term plan?

Interviewee: This is the moment in which someone has to take an initiative. The right question is how we can proceed to the realization of actions. Otherwise, if we always use the arguments that we do not have long term planning or that the state does not do its job well, we will spend the rest of our lives arguing against each other for whose fault it is, without doing anything. Long-term planning would be ideal but now we must talk about actions. For instance, some of the activities in the strategic plan of OTEDA were also included in the study

of the Greek Tourism Organization in 2003. The next step is the development of partnerships. Since the main problem in Greece regarding the development and realization of activities concerns funding, these issues are being discussed when you have to incorporate activities within wider policy plans and contracts. And then you start looking for partners.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example?

Interviewee: When for instance we will begin developing during the next strategic plan the activities for disabled tourism, we will inevitably ask the help of the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Culture and other actors, which we consider that they will approve and be willing to contribute in these activities. It is a bit strange the logic we have in Greece regarding the development of activities and it is totally dependent on whether you can find money. This is also the key criterion for the evaluation of partnerships. It cannot be compared with the way they work for instance in England where you know what your budget is and what you want to do, so you start working. The OTEDA has a considerable budget with which we can do many things but there is no way to do all the activities of our strategic plan without support from other actors and sources. Hence, every time we are planning a series of activities we are thinking what actors could be interested to cooperate with us either from the wider public sector or from the private sector.

Interviewer: Can we therefore say that you have a broad network of partners?

Interviewee: Don't forget that the Hotel Chamber of Greece, the Association of Greek Tourism Enterprises, the Hellenic Association of Tourist and Travel Agencies, and the Hellenic Retail Business Association are currently members of our capital stock and board of directors, while we also aim to add the Attica-Athens Hotel Association. From such a perspective, the OTEDA operates as a platform of cooperation between the public and the private sector. The development company that will replace the current scheme will not have any partners in the capital stock but all these actors will participate in the new board of directors. This is an important decision that will secure the productive cooperation between the Municipality of Athens and tourism associations.

In the meantime, both the current strategic plan and the strategic plan of the development company include many potential partnerships with a variety of public and private actors. If for instance we consider that some of our activities can directly benefit the city's trade market, we will appeal both to the Athens Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Athens Traders Association. These partnerships however cannot be considered certain. We are talking more about ad-hoc partnerships that we aim to expand, strengthen and establish in solid foundations. But again we are returning to what I was telling you about metropolitan administrative structures and planning.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Interviewee: There are so many actors involved directly or indirectly with the development, management and promotion of the Athens tourism product, so it is impossible to produce the desirable results and integrate the necessary resources without an agreed strategic plan and one responsible administrative structure.

We mentioned earlier the waterfront's importance for the Athens tourism product. We had understood during the previous 'City Break Expo 06' that 8 to 10 tour operators had no idea

that Athens has access to the sea within only half an hour or forty minutes from the city centre. 130 tour operators participated in the previous exhibition in Helsinki while 135 tour operators came this year in our own exhibition. Through the selection of the Tae Kwon Do Faliro Pavillon (Olympic establishment situated at the coast of the Municipality of Palaio Faliro) as the venue for the staging of the city-break exhibition, every tour operators knows now very well how close is the distance between the city centre and the sea. The selection of the Faliro Pavillon was a conscious decision and I can tell you that most of the tour operators felt surprises when they found out how close the sea is. This decision of course would not have any sense without all the improvements across the beach and a series of complementary infrastructures such as the marinas and the Olympic establishments. But during the exhibition of 2006 in Helsinki we felt that the tour operators, the decision makers that will help us develop Athens as a city-break destination, did not have any idea about these features. This means that there was not an integrated effort both before and after the Olympic Games to capitalize on these improvements from a tourism development perspective. In this case, the efforts of the OTEDA have covered a significant gap but we must continue in the future.

It would also be useful a communication plan connecting the dominant elements of cultural tourism in the city centre with complementary elements such as the wineries of Rural Attica or other tourism activities across the coastal area. Moreover, I believe that we should highlight another point that we have been falsely considering as a disadvantage for many years. Athens is not only an independent tourism destination but also an intermediate travel station of temporary stay towards other Greek destinations. And the fact that you can highlight this particular dimension does not necessarily mean that you cannot also promote Athens as an independent destination. But what destinations give you so many potential choices such as the close distance to the sea, the rural Attica, the short excursions in the islands of the Saronic Gulf, or even the possibility of getting a ship or a cruise ship from Piraeus in order to visit the rest of Greek islands? And I have not added yet that within a couple of hours from Athens you can visit by coach or car some of the most important archaeological sites in the world (Mycenae, Epidaurus, Delphi). I cannot think of many city-break destinations with so many additional choices.

Interviewer: Although we are returning again to issues of tourism policy, what exactly is the meaning of city-breaks? I thought it was the short trip during the weekend.

Interviewee: That was the initial perception. City-breaks are the evolution of the wider term of short breaks. Short-breaks emerged as a trend during middle 1990s because of social reforms such as the fact that people had less available time and they preferred to make short trips within the year instead of the traditional summer trip. This trend proved to be more successful in urban destinations because these destinations had the necessary infrastructure for attracting and accommodating tourist on a twelve-month basis. Traditional summer resorts did not have this capacity so the market of short breaks was specialized in the market of city breaks with its own criteria and destinations that do not suffer so much from seasonality. Athens has not yet overcome seasonality, but we can minimize it if we further strengthen and integrate the various elements of our tourism product.

We must not also forget the potentials of business tourism, while we are also waiting the completion of the metropolitan convention centre through the transformation of the Faliro Pavillon. We have only one problem, maybe not only one but it is a strategic disadvantage in comparison with many other European urban destinations for the development of city-breaks. This problem has to do with the airline connection of Athens either at the level of regular

direct flights or at the level of low cost carriers. Athens International Airport Eleftherios Venizelos has lately dealt with this problem in contracting with seventeen low cost carriers during the last two years. The attraction of low cost carriers is a conscious policy of the airport and whenever we are talking with them we see that they have a good plan which coincides with our aim for the promotion of Athens as a city break and business destination. We also observe a considerable increase of regular direct flights per week, whose small number used to be a significant problem of the old airport. We have to capitalize on the airport's potentials because it can give us competitive advantages that we could not even imagine with the old airport.

Interviewer: This reference you have made about the airport allows me to return to relationships you are developing with other actors. Is there any kind of partnership between the OTEDA and the company which is responsible for the management of the airport?

Interviewee: During the first months of 2008 will begin the operation of a visitors information centre in the arrivals room of the airport aiming to the immediate provision of reliable information to tourists. We aim to begin the gradual development of a visitor information network, whose information centres will be available at the transportation entrance gates of the city and the places with the highest tourism traffic.

Interviewer: Are you happy with this partnership?

Interviewee: We have no complaints. Problems emerge when there are conflicting interests of lack of financial resources which is not the case here.

Interviewer: Do you have something specific in mind?

Interviewee: It is the example of the Athens Convention and Visitors Bureau (ACVB) that was established by four professional tourism groups; they did not manage to maintain it and now we have decided to re-establish it and will be one of the main activities of our organization's new structure in 2008.

Interviewer: An interviewee from one of the involved associations was quite reluctant to give me details about the failure of the previous ACVB.

Interviewee: I can imagine. I do not have any internal information but my impression is that problems had to do not only with the lack of money but there was also tension between the members of the ACVB. This is one of the main things that we want to avoid in our initiative.

Interviewer: What exactly are you preparing?

Interviewee: Given that the development of conventions and meetings tourism is one of the priorities of our strategic plan, we believe that this cannot be a realistic target without the existence of an administrative structure exclusively concentrated on this target. We hope that the new ACVB will begin working sometime during 2008. It will be a department of the OTEDA, although it will seem like an independent organization. This structure is going to be our main alliance for the development of convention tourism not only because it will extend the city's dynamism for attracting important international conferences but also because it will be the first point of communication between Athens and the main representatives of the international convention market. Hence, we are also in continuous communication with the

Hellenic Association of Professional Congress Organizers, and we are planning common activities and proposals for partnerships with other actors in the fields of tourism research and promotion as well as in the provision of specialized customer services.

The particularity of the ACVB has to do with the quality of provided information. We want it to be so good that every professional congress or meeting organizer will make his first stop there before he starts searching for the local professional congress organizers and ground handlers. We know that such professionals need first general information about the city and the respective tourism product. Hence, we must be able to provide reliable and updated information. Especially in terms of the local conference product it must be like providing him with one a la carte menu from which they will be able to decide what elements are the appropriate ones for their own congresses and meetings. The smooth operation of the ACVB and the provision of objective information can be secured according to the international experience only when this administrative structure belongs to and operates under the destination's authorities.

Interviewer: I am just wondering what the thoughts of the private sector will be for your initiative.

Interviewee: I cannot believe they might have negative opinions. It is something that the private sector tried but failed to complete. Regardless the reasons of this failure it is something that both the city and the professionals need, so it is time to be done in the right manner. Even more important is that the re-establishment of the ACVB will be combined during 2008 with the creation of a tourism observatory for the recording of all tourism indicators and the elaboration of studies regarding the tourism product of Athens. Last but not least, we are aiming to complete within 2008 the creation of the official tourism website that will incorporate a comprehensive destination management system. The existence of powerful destination websites is not something very common in Greece and can be proved a major disadvantage in the evolution of national tourism development. It is really disappointing that we are still not taking appropriate action when so many significant changes have taken place during the last 10 years like the continuous increase of the potential tourist demand for website services and the simultaneous concentration of tour operators on the exploitation of the World Wide Web.

The OTEDA recognised from the first moment the necessity for an official tourism website that will be equal or even better than the websites of other urban tourism destinations. We made a thorough research regarding the information that such a website should include, developed the tourism website of Athens and now we are going one step further by enriching the website with a destination management system.

Interviewer: I have observed so far that you are giving great emphasis on experience from abroad.

Interviewee: Yes, because there is no other way. The whole project of the OTEDA has not been tested again in the case of Athens or even Greece in general. We have to keep an eye of course on what is going on in Greece and within this context we are moving towards the transformation of our organization to a development company through the provisions of the recent code of municipalities and communities.

Yet, the fact that professional groups of tourism and regional economy can participate in the OTEDA is a similar approach to the practices of respective foreign organizations. We also need to get know-how from abroad and the contacts we made through the European Cities Tourism have helped us a lot both in the planning and accomplishment of activities like the staging of the 'City Break Expo 07'. We submitted the candidate file in the European Cities Tourism, it was approved by the relevant committee, and we finally organized the exhibition from the 11th to 13th June 2007. The Ministry of Tourism Development and the Greek Tourism Organization supported the candidacy of Athens at all levels through an official letter of the Minister itself to the committee and the visit of the president of the Greek Tourism Organization to the 'City-Break Expo 06' in Helsinki, in which we all had discussions with the administrative authorities of European Cities Tourism. As officials have been saying since then that the development of city-breaks is a strategic priority of the tourism public administration, allow me to consider this thing an achievement of all people working in the OTEDA.

Interviewer: Do you mean that the government has committed to support your activities in the long term?

Interviewee: I think that we can count on their help for serious initiatives and the exhibition was not only a very good test for the strength of our relationships but also a significant boost of the whole city-breaks development project. It helped both the organization itself and the city to become a member of the wide family of European urban tourism destinations. We are all very happy with the result of the exhibition because we had the main responsibility for the venue besides the financial and moral support on behalf of the tourism public administration.

Interviewer: If I am not wrong, it was just before or just after the exhibition when you were supposed to formalise a partnership contract with the Greek Tourism Organisation. Am I right?

Interviewee: It is true but I do not have to tell you many things about it. The thought was to decide a common plan and see in what activities from our strategic plan we could cooperate with them. We submitted a proposal in the previous ministerial leaderships, they gave us a positive response and commitment, and now we are waiting to begin discussions once again in order to decide eventually what activities will be implemented. There is a small issue because we did not discuss with the previous ministerial leadership about the amount of their financial contribution so new consultations have to include this parameter too. Such processes always last longer when we have changes after elections. The Greek administrative system is extremely sluggish regardless we like it or not. But to be honest, everybody here in OTEDA is so busy nowadays with details about the organization's transformation and the planning of activities for 2008 that we would not be able to effectively respond to an additional task. We are trying however to keep in continuous touch with many actors from and want to continue with the same pace.

Interviewer: I want to thank you very much for your time and help. We have already gone beyond one hour of discussion but there are a few issues I have not covered yet. Would you mind to make you a few more questions?

Interviewee: Go ahead.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. It is not something complicated and more or less we have already referred to these issues. But what do you think are the benefits of developing relationships with other actors but also the constraints that prevent sometimes the further strengthening of relationships?

Interviewee: From where would like to begin?

Interviewer: Let's start with the benefits. You have already referred to the lack of financial resources and the search for financial support through tpartnerships you make with other actors in order to complete your activities. Is it always easy this approach?

Interviewee: Of course it is not always easy. I also told you earlier that some people in the professional tourism groups have a somehow strange way of thinking. It is not that they do not know the tourism business and environment. There are however some people with a very narrow mentality about the idea of investing money. They have connected the concept of investment only with the immediate flow of money and profits. Any investment without quick financial benefits is considered waste of time and resources according to these people. This cannot be the case of an organization like ours, whose activities have a long-term orientation and must contribute generally to city's tourism and not exclusively to any specialized economic sector which is related with local tourism economy.

Interviewer: Can you think of any other benefits from working with other actors apart from the financial ones?

Interviewee: I think that our partners have appreciated that we do not merely ask for their money. Given the right mood we can work together in the planning and development of activities, exchange our knowledge and experiences, and have better results. The experience of people from the Greek Tourism Organization helped us while preparing the 'City Break Expo 07'. The fact also that we had the support of the public tourism administration, the Attica-Athens Hotel Association and some 5 star hotels strengthened our presence there. It was a really important moment because everybody understood, regardless he was coming from the public or the private sector, that we can produce better results when we work together. This kind of perception should be spread out to all the different actors from the smallest municipality to the ministry of tourism and the private sector.

Interviewer: What about constraints in developing relationships?

Interviewee: Bureaucracy, multi-fragmentation of powers among the various agencies of the public sector and the lack of metropolitan administrative structures are the key problems. The lack of specialized knowledge and perceptions about contemporary tourism is also a major problem. Sometimes it does not matter whether you deal with the public or the private sector because you face the same problems with people from both of them.

Interviewer: It looks like bureaucracy is not an exclusive complaint of the private sector.

Interviewee: You can face bureaucracy everywhere; it is even more intensive between levels of the public sector. Local authorities have no easier processes in their relationships with the central state. We are talking about formal institutionalised relationships and processes, which have been decided by our political directors regardless we are talking about the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Development or any other ministerial authority. You have to accept it

and learn to live with it. Citizens and people from the private sector have at least the right to complaint or moan, although it does not mean that they will solve their problems. We cannot for instance issue a complaint press release, but I think that we are accomplishing better results through our internal efforts when we are dealing with the different levels of the state.

Interviewer: I understand what you are saying but I have the impression that you are not complaining for a lack of powers, at least in the case of OTEDA.

Interviewee: What really matters is not what responsibilities you have but how you can improve your performance. This organization is supposed to serve two roles, the first being the development of tourism product and the second being both the management and promotion of tourism product. These dimensions in other countries and cities are not only completely separated and independent but they also belong to different organizations. Let's take an example which is well-known to both of us. The section of tourism development is the responsibility of seven development managers within the London Development Agency. This is a separated structure in which they take care of issues such as the spatial and territorial planning of tourism, environmental protection, measurement of the carrying capacity and sustainable tourism development. These elements are of course related with tourism management and marketing, but it cannot be accidental that these two sections are responsibility of the Visiting London.

In Greece we do not have the administrative mentality or maturity to separate these interrelated but rather different in their nature elements. Hence, we have decided to incorporate both of them within the structure of the development company, which is the most flexible and promising organizational form in municipal authorities. The strategic plan includes activities in all the fields of tourism development, management and marketing. There is however some kind of conflict because you cannot focus on all of them at the same time. It is inevitable that one of them will dominate because they all need significant budgets. If for instance we decide to give emphasis on marketing, where the necessary funds are extremely high when we are competing with other destinations in terms of promotion and campaigns, we have no other choice but to minimize our tourism development activities. If we again concentrate exclusively on tourism development, who is going to take care of tourism promotion? We have therefore to find a delicate balance and I am optimistic that we will do it, especially in comparison with what we have seen so far.

Interviewer: Balance is the ultimate target but from what we have said I understand that you are currently more focused on tourism management and marketing. However, if you wanted to focus more on tourism development activities, how would it be possible to take powers regarding spatial and territorial planning from other authorities such as the Ministry for the Environment and the Organization for the Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens?

Interviewee: This could only happen if a metropolitan administrative structure was the common denominator for relationships between the actors of tourism development in Athens. The ideal scenario would suggest the existence of a strong organization, in which all the responsibilities regarding regional tourism development would be accumulated. Such a scenario however is not possible at all if we take into account that even at the national level the Ministry of Tourism has not achieved since 2004 to absorb relevant responsibilities from other ministries such as the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry for the Environment and Spatial Planning.

Interviewer: Can you think of any other constraints?

Interviewee: People working at all the levels of the public sector have an old-fashioned-perception about tourism development. And you know better than me that tourism is a very complex phenomenon which is treated nowadays not just like one of the sectors of tertiary economy but like a secondary discipline with various connections to other scientific fields. In Greece this kind of knowledge exists at a very limited level and I am not talking only about marketing, where the lack of knowledge is really disappointing, but also in the fields of tourism development and management, where at least it would be easier to copy successful examples from other countries. We need better education, from people at the macro level who decide national tourism policy for the next ten years to each one of the employees at the micro level whose job is to make tourists feel welcomed.

Interviewer: To conclude this discussion, could you give me some suggestions for strengthening tourism policies and collaboration in the Metropolitan area of Athens?

Interviewee: I return once again to the necessity of flexible administrative structures which, according to my opinion should have the form of metropolitan partnerships under the central government's supervision. Until then, we need to improve every single aspect that affects the value for money of the Athens tourism product, from waste management to the coordination of tourism advertising. Such a task could be facilitated by the selection of specialized and well-educated personnel and the further training of existing workforce. There are of course many additional activities that could contribute, such as the promotion and better utilisation of cultural heritage through the employment of high-tech facilities or the organization of important events, but I think that the first suggestions are currently the most important ones.

Interviewer: And what about the future of OTEDA?

Interviewee: We have to shape the form and role of our organisation within the next two years. We already know that the positive will of the municipality and the tourism public administration is not enough. The most influential factor is what the will of the private sector will be, when we will be ready to undertake serious initiatives. It is very easy to theoretically discuss what should be done. Nevertheless, we have to be careful. If we undertake all these initiatives we must be also ready to receive criticism. The private sector has to decide its own role in these processes, and I am afraid it will take some time. At least I am happy because in the case of Athens the OTEDA has made a difference during the last two years. We have to follow the guidelines of the national government, but even officials of the World Tourism Organization have said that destination management organizations will be the dominant actors in the future. I can remember also a recent report of the Commission about the evolution of tourism policy in the European Union in which the European Tourism Forum admitted that tourism policy is planned according to the requirements and targets of regional and local authorities in each country. We must do the same, but it will not be easy.

Interviewer: Thank you again for spending so much time with me this afternoon.

Interviewee: You are welcome. Please, let me know if you need any more help in the future.

Sample of the Document Summary Form

Document Type_____ Site_____

Document No_____ Date Received or Picked Up_____

1. Name or Description of Document

2. Event or Contact, if any, with which document is associated:

3. Significance of Document for each of the main Thematic Areas:

A. The Nature of the Policy / Institutional Context of Tourism Development:

Yes ☐ No ☐

B. Collaboration / Networking:

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Brief Summary of Contents and Key Points

If you consider this document central or crucial to a particular contact, keep a copy separately for the next steps. If you consider this paper secondary, put in document file.

Document Summary Form of a Series of Legislation Papers

Document Form: Series of Laws and Ministerial Decisions from the 1980s to nowadays determining the Incentives for Tourist Investments in the Different Areas of the Greek State

Site: Govern. Gazette, Document No: 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92, 94, 95, 137

Date Received or Picked Up: October – November 2007

1. Name or Description of Document

74. Law 1262/1982:

75. 2647/Ministry of Economy and Finance./ 538886/ SPEC. 135 GNT0/19.11.1986:

78. Law 2160/1993:

79. Law 2234/1994:

80. Joint Ministerial Decision 43965/94:

82. Law 2601/1998:

83. Decision of the Deputy Minister of Development T/4805/2000:

84. Ministerial Decision T/3746/2001:

85. Ministerial Decision T/7959/2001:

86. Ministerial Decision T 1511/2002:

87. Joint Ministerial Decision 27783/2003:

88. Law 3299/2004:

89. Ministerial Decision 5116/2005:

92. Joint Ministerial Decision 17829/08.05.2006:

94. Law 3522/2006:

95. Joint Ministerial Decision 33016/25.7.2007:

137. Law 3057/2002:

2. Event or Contact, if any, with which document is associated:

Interviewees from the Public Tourism Administration (Ministry of Tourism and the Greek Tourism Organization) and the Tourism Business Community have extensively referred to this legislation as important evidence of the historical evolution of tourism development in the Region of Attica.

3. Significance of Document for each of the main Thematic Areas:

A. The Nature of the Policy / Institutional Context of Tourism Development:

Yes ☒ No ☐

B. Collaboration / Networking:

Yes ☐ No ☒

4. Brief Summary of Contents and Key Points

‘Development Laws’ are the key policies shaping economic development through the provision of incentives for different kinds of investments across the regions of the Greek State. Within this framework, incentives for tourism investments have been an integral aspect of these laws since the consolidation of democracy in 1974. Before this period, Athens had evolved not only as an independent destination because of its cultural resources but also as the main gate towards the brand new Greek resorts. The case of the Greek capital was even more special due to the population’s exponential growth and the negative repercussions that followed uncontrolled urban development during the 1950’s and 1960s (Lack of Infrastructure, Degradation of Urban Environment, Environmental Degradation, Excessive Supply of Hotel Facilities without Proportional Growth of Tourism Demand).

The identification of similar issues in a number of Greek destinations forced the Greek State (538886/86: Decision of the Ministry for the Environment, Ministry of Economy and the Greek Tourism Organization) to declare areas with a high concentration of accommodation establishments as ‘Areas of Controlled Tourism Development’ where only high-class hotels could be constructed. Parts of these areas were declared as ‘Saturated Tourist Areas’ where no construction of accommodation establishments was allowed and this was also the case of the majority of areas within the Attica Region, including the islands of the Saronic Gulf and one part from Eastern Peloponnese (Region of Trizinia). The status of ‘Saturated Tourist Areas’ was maintained for almost fifteen years and was gradually removed for Mainland Attica and the island of Aegina with a series of ministerial decisions only a few years before the Olympic Games of 2004 (4805/00; 3746/01; 7959/01; 1511/02). The status of saturation was removed for the remaining inland areas in Attica in 2005 (5116/05), but in 2009 it is still valid the status of ‘Areas of Controlled Tourism Development’ for the whole region.

In the meantime, the orientation of the ‘Development Law’ had turned the attention of tourism development incentives towards less developed Greek areas. The law 1892/90 and the subsequent one (2601/98) included considerations for the conservation of the environment and the upgrading of hotel and tourist supply. It is understood that the staging of the Olympic

Games was an important factor for a change to the treatment of Attica-Athens during the late 1990's and the dawn of the 21st century. This is the case for two reasons:

- I. 'Development Laws' 1892/90 and 2601/98 were not providing incentives for the establishment or expansion of hotel units in the region of Attica. Even after the removal of the Saturation status, Joint Ministerial Decision 27783/2003 confirmed that the incentives of Subsidy, Interest Rate Subsidy, and Equipment Leasing Subsidy (with the exemption of the Tax exemption incentive) would not be given in the Region of Attica (including both the ineligible and non-ineligible areas for those incentives but not the islands of Kithira and Anti-Kithira) for the establishment or expansion of hotel units. However, Law 2601/98 provided equal percentages of incentives across all Greek Regions, including Attica, for investments such as:
 - ❖ The modernization of operating hotel units of at least former Class C (current 2 star rating).
 - ❖ The creation of additional facilities within hotel units of at least former Class C aiming to offer extra services.
 - ❖ The transformation of traditional or preserved buildings into hotel units of at least former Class C
 - ❖ The establishment, expansion, modernization of special tourist infrastructure.
- II. One of the so-called 'Olympic Laws' (3057/2002) provided additional financial incentives through the consultation of the Chamber of Hotels and the Attica-Athens Hotel Association for the modernization of operating hotel units in the Region of Attica and the renovation of their exterior appearances.

These two laws and the removal of saturation status from the mainland Attica were aiming to enable not only the modernization of older hotel units through financial incentives. Another target was the enrichment of Athens hotel stock before the Olympic Games with 4 and 5 stars hotels exclusively through private capitals. In the post-Olympic period, the new Neo-Liberal government that was inaugurated in March 2004 introduced 'Development Law' 3299/04 at the end of the same year. This law included lower percentages of incentives regarding tourism investments in the Region of Attica in comparison with the rest of Greek regions, while it was not providing again any incentives for the establishment or expansion of hotel units in Athens.

Joint Ministerial Decision 17829/2006 confirmed once again (in a similar but not identical way to the Joint Ministerial Decision 27783/2003 for the Law 2601/98) that various incentives (Subsidy, Equipment Leasing Subsidy and Labour Cost Subsidy for Employment Positions) with the exemption of the Tax exemption incentive would not be eligible in the Region of Attica for the establishment or expansion of hotel units, except cases in which the investment would concern the establishment or expansion of 5 star hotels. In the case of Athens, the meaning was

that the Joint Ministerial Decision 17829/2006 was allowing Subsidy incentives for the establishment or expansion of hotel units in the Region of Attica to be potentially eligible only for the establishment or expansion of 5 star hotels. This Ministerial Decision, however, had a substantial importance only for other Greek Regions because in the case of Attica the ‘Development Law’ 3299/04 was not including any relevant incentives.

At that time, a notable issue emerged with the ‘Development Law’ 3522/06, which amended various provisions of Law 3299/04. One of these amendments was the provision of Subsidy incentives for the establishment or expansion of hotel units in the Mainland part of the Region of Attica for a first time after the 1970s. Some of the most important actors of tourism community reacted strongly to this provision (Articles from Tourism Magazines of 2006 and 2007). The reason was that according to the aforementioned Ministerial Decision 17829/06 incentives would be eligible for the establishment or expansion of 5 star accommodation establishments. Tourism actors argued that it was unreasonable on behalf of the State to give incentives for the establishment of new units, when substantial private investments were realized before the Olympic Games without any public financial support. The same argument was also predicated on the fact the arrivals, monthly occupancies, generated revenues and other tourism indicators in the post-Olympic period had not fulfilled the expectations of tourism businesses. It has to be mentioned here that the final relevant Joint Ministerial Decision 33016/07 in May 2007 amended the previous one (17829/06), excluding from the provision of incentives for the establishment or expansion of 5 star hotel units the Region of Attica (except from one area in Southern Mainland Attica – Lavreotiki Zone). This decision terminated the tension between the central government and tourism community and it is an interesting example regarding relationships between the two most important interest groups shaping tourism development in Athens.

Issues to be enlightened during Interviews:

- What was the Impact of the 15-years Saturation Status in the case of Athens?
- What were the Results Regarding of Upgrade and Modernization of the Athens Hotel Stock and Tourism Product before the Olympic Games?
- What are the Perceptions about the Recent ‘Development Law’ 3299/2004 and the future of Tourism Investments in Athens?
- What do Actors believe about the Tension regarding Joint Ministerial Decisions 17829/06 and 3301/2007 as well as about the amendment of the Development Law 3299/04 (Law 3522/06)?

Document Summary Form of a Policy Document

Document Form: Hardbound copy of the Strategic Plan of the Municipality of Athens Tourism Organization before the transformation of its legal status in the beginning of 2008 to a Developmental Anonymous Company (D.S.A) of the Municipality of Athens,
Site: Ksenofondos 7 – Syntagma Square, 210-3253123,

Document No: 22, Date Received or Picked Up: March 2007

1. Name or Description of Document

Athens Tourism & Economic Development Organization, 2006, *Athens Tourism Development Strategic Plan (in Greek)*, Athens: ATEDO

2. Event or Contact, if any, with which document is associated:

This document has without doubt a strong relationship to the interviewee from the respective organisation but it will be interesting to explore the opinions of other actors regarding the activities of this recently-established organization in the context of regional tourism development in Athens.

3. Significance of Document for each of the main Thematic Areas:

A. The Nature of the Policy / Institutional Context of Tourism Development	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Collaboration / Networking:	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Brief Summary of Contents and Key Points

The first part of this paper deals with the establishment of the organization in 2005, as an agency under the Municipality of Athens, and with an overview of the latest tourism developments and indicators about Athens. Great emphasis is given on the relationships with other actors and the potentials for strengthening these relationships. In this respect, it cannot be accidental the following reference.

“The vision of this organization is to create common fields of activity and cooperation among all the different actors of tourism economy in Athens and Attica as well as to incorporate their individual goals into the formulation of a common strategy” (Page 5). The impression that the Athens Tourism & Economic Development Organization aims to evolve to a Destination Management and Marketing Organization is quite strong in the 1st part. However, it becomes even more evident in the 2nd part of the document where it is provided information and timetables for the organization’s activities as well an identification of the potential partnerships in each one of the following policy areas:

- ✓ Tourism Strategy
 - Recording, Assessment and Enrichment of the Tourism Cultural Product
 - Development of Relationships with other Actors of Regional Tourism Development
 - Development of Relationships with International Cities and Organizations
 - Development of a Visitors Information Network
- ✓ Conference and Exhibition Tourism
 - Establishment of the Athens Convention Bureau
 - Corporate and Incentive Trips
- ✓ Promotion and Communication
 - Tourism Market Research & Analysis
 - Design and Circulation of Printed and Electronic Promotional Material
 - Creation of the Official Athens Tourism Website
 - Participation in International and Domestic Exhibition and Venues
 - Organization and Staging of the City-Break Expo 2007
- ✓ Economic Development
 - Commercial Products
 - Visitor City Card
 - Consultancy Regarding the Cultural Sponsorships of the Municipality of Athens

Appendix G: Domestic and Foreign Overnights in Attica and Greece (1998-2003)

	1998			1999			2000		
	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)
Domestic Bed Nights in all Accommodation Establishments*	2832470	14422580	19.63	2857439	14786052	19.32	2903486	15162275	19.14
Foreign Bed Nights in all Accommodation Establishments*	5031754	42988904	11.7	4472173	46081665	9.7	4938021	47023618	10.5
Total Bed Nights	7864224	57411484	13.69	7329612	60867717	12.04	7841507	62185893	12.6

*Including Nights Spent in all the Categories of Hotels, Guest Rooms, Boarding Houses, Furnished Suites, Camping Sites, and Summer Resorts

	2001			2002			2003		
	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)
Domestic Bed Nights in all Accommodation Establishments*	2430925	13774076	17.65	2371985	13513340	17.55	2367974	14094641	16.8
Foreign Bed Nights in all Accommodation Establishments*	3929560	42494140	9.24	3595472	40952969	8.77	3442442	40407463	8.51
Total Bed Nights	6360485	56268216	11.3	5967457	54466309	10.95	5810416	54502104	10.66

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

Appendix H: Operational Plan of City-Breaks Tourism –
Chart of Goal, Objectives, Strategies, and Tactics

Be amongst the Top City Break Destinations in Europe		
Improve and Develop the product combining culture with unique values	Focus and intensify communication to attract target segments	Increase the presence on internet and in intermediaries' portfolio
1. Development of value based experiences	1. Development of a powerful web strategy	1. Encouragement of Intermediaries to sell Greece' cities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create destination management companies • Create systems of experiences based on Greek values • Elaborate themed itineraries within the city • Produce audio-guides 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase online visibility and web traffic • Develop an attractive and vanguard website and reservation system (safe, easy, and fast) • Generate critical traveller features such as mapping, trip planning, and reviews to further consumer satisfaction with Greek website 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carry out Fam trips • Provide sales incentive • Develop specialist program • Do sales calls
2. Expansion and enhancement of the product offering	2. Improvement of the knowledge of Greece among the trade	2. Creation of sales support system for selected trade
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop "Athens help guides" • Reach agreements with service providers • Establish price scheme for transportation and attractions (museum card, metro card, etc) • Implement a label program to ensure quality • Hospitality program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Send E-Newsletter • Organize webinar • Set up travel agencies university • Buy city breaks in Greece 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide online support (MSN, Skype), and restricted access for online information. • Send special promotions in a regular base • Produce planner guide • Produce tourist guides and maps • Create promotional kits
3. Improvement of urban scenery and infrastructure	3. Development of an off line communication scheme	3. Development of a targeted recommendation programme
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create "user-friendly" sign-posting • Suggest recommendation for improvement to the public sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issue guide with 50 best experiences to enjoy in Greece cities • Advertise in in-flight magazines and in lifestyle magazines • Sponsor the production of films, television sports and videos • Organize festivals and events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Run the program "share your pleasure" • Create an award program (airlines, credit card, supermarket, etc.)
	4. Pursue of publication of articles and reports in selected media	4. Search for cooperative direct marketing
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize press trips • Run international media relation program • Pursue product placement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perform co-operative direct marketing (banks, credit card, supermarkets, airlines, etc.)
	5. Building of strategic partnerships	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish partnerships with important festivals and events' organizers • Create strategic alliances 	

Source: PRC et al (2007), see also Kouris (2008 a; b)

Appendix I: Expenditures per Ministry of the Annual Greek State Budget (Millions €)

Ministries	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2008	2009
	Final Amount	Final Amount	Final Amount	Final Amount	Final Amount	Initial Budget	Final Estimation	Forecast
Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment	5137	6259	7017	7420	8281	9985	10083	11385
Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs	4579	5294	5646	5994	6411	6861	6821	7238
Ministry of Health and Social Solidarity	4132	4704	4950	5122	5435	6015	5901	6412
Ministry of National Defence	3215	3348	3494	3655	3862	4205	4154	4328
Ministry of Interior*	2740	2761	3123	3356	3502	6043	6027	6812
Ministry of Public Order	1562	1740	1805	1835	1969			
Ministry of Rural Development and Food	874	926	1070	1193	1297	1458	1390	1498
Ministry of Mercantile Marine, the Aegean and Island Policy**	784	941	1073	1171	1320	1407	1534	1624
Ministry of Economy and Finance	732	808	825	701	740	992	821	863
Ministry of Justice	442	474	490	500	523	573	700	791
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	370	364	400	385	391	472	449	489
Ministry of Transportation and Communications	265	312	328	335	342	366	360	381
Ministry of Culture	257	266	272	311	350	359	382	414
Ministry for the Environment, Spatial Planning and Public Works	174	185	197	196	205	212	215	227
Ministry of Development	140	162	172	178	193	210	207	216
Ministry of Tourism Development***	43	41	58	60	59	66	65	70
Ministry of Island Policy	24	25	25					
Ministry of Macedonia-Thrace	15	13	15	17	18	21	21	22

Source: Compilation of Data from the Annual Budgets (MINECO, 2005 a; 2006 a; 2007 a; 2008; 2009),
Published in www.mnec.gr

* The Ministry of Interior Merged in 2008 with the Ministry of Public Order

**The Ministry of Mercantile Marine merged in 2006 with the Ministry of Island Policy

***Before the Establishment of the Ministry of Tourism Development in 2004 the Respective Budget Concerned the General Secretariat for Tourism within the Ministry of Development

Appendix J: Institutional Powers of Government Agencies in relation to Tourism Policy

Mission-Powers of Ministries	Relevant Legislation	Mission-Powers of Supervised Organisations and Inter-Ministerial Committees	Relevant Legislation
<u>The Ministry of Tourism Development</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The elaboration of tourism policy, the planning of tourism development and the formation of necessary institutional arrangements and other regulations. The study and research of tourism impacts to economy and social life. To suggest necessary measures to and collaborate with inter-ministerial bodies as well as with regional-local authorities and tourism associations for the coordination of policies, the enhancement of tourism development, and the effective operation of tourism sector through the improvement of quality and competitiveness. Public relations and the country's representation in international tourism organizations and the competent bodies of the EU. To promote the country and its areas and prepare the advertising plan for both inside the country and abroad. To decide the content of inspections in tourism enterprise. To enhance the quality of tourism services provided and evaluate training programs. To collaborate with the Ministry of Economy for the promotion of measures that will enable private investments. 	<p>P.D 122/2004 149/2005</p> <p>Law 3270/2004</p>	<u>Inter-Ministerial Committee for Tourism under the Prime Minister's Supervision</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To plan, coordinate and monitor tourism policy and development. To decide about special or urgent policy measures during a crisis. 	<p>Prime Ministerial Decision Y315/2003</p>
		<u>Greek Tourism Organization</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To implement the national tourism policy and submit relevant proposals to the Ministry of Tourism Development To deliver tourism promotion plans and advertising campaigns (also in collaboration with regional-local authorities and tourism associations) as well as to represent the country in international exhibitions and events. To provide licences and supervise tourism businesses. To manage and administrate national and EU funds for the enhancement of tourism infrastructure. 	<p>P.D 343/2001</p> <p>Law 3270/2004</p>
		<u>Tourism Development Company</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To manage and administrate the state-owned tourism property. To capitalize on the portfolio of tourism property assets in order to serve the aims of national tourism policy and develop infrastructures for alternative forms of tourism. 	<p>Laws 2636/1998 2837/2000 2919/2001 3270/2004 3498/2006</p>
		<u>Organisation of Tourism Education and Training</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To provide theoretical and practical education for the application of scientific knowledge and other skills in tourism professions. To modernize tourism education for the improvement of quality and competitiveness. 	<p>Laws 3105/2003 3270/2004 3498/2006</p>

<u>Ministry of Economy and Finance</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The formation and implementation of general economic policy in parallel with the decisions of inter-ministerial committees. To coordinate the evolution of the primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors (including tourism) in accordance with the aims of national economic policy. To compile the annual state budget, approve the operational programmes of state agencies, and decide the distribution of expenditure among the various ministries and the rest of state agencies and corporations. To elaborate national-regional development policies and reform programmes after consultations with state agencies (i.e. ministries of Development, Culture, Tourism Development, regional, and local authorities) and civil society To organize the distribution of EU funds and ensure that the assistance from the funds is consistent with the Community strategic guidelines on cohesion. To incorporate the aims of regional development policies in national (sectoral) and regional operational programmes. To plan, coordinate, and monitor the programs of public and private investments as well as privatizations and public-private partnerships. 		<u>General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The planning and implementation of necessary statistical analysis to support the development and application of the government's directions. The planning, organization, and implementation of researches for the condition and development of the tourism sector. The elaboration, control, and presentation of respective research data. 	Law 2392/1996 P.D 226/2000
		<u>HELEXPO S.A</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The organization and staging of exhibitions mainly in the city of Thessaloniki but also in Athens. 	MD 498/00 Laws 2084/1992 2687/1999
		<u>Public Real Estate Corporation</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To accommodate the Greek Public Sector Services. To develop, utilise, and manage public real estate properties. 	Laws 973/1979 2414/1996 3429/2005
	P.D 437/1985 284/1988 167/1996 178/2000 81/2002	<u>Inter-Ministerial Committees for Privatizations and Public-Private Partnerships</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They are responsible for the preparation, approval, and evaluation of PPP schemes-privatizations. In the field of tourism policy these schemes are mainly related with the projects of the Tourism Development Co and the long- expected Athens Metropolitan Convention Centre in one of the Olympic properties. In addition, they are related with the scheme of the Athens International Airport, the partial privatization of Piraeus Port Authority and the potential full privatization of Regency Mont Parnes Casino. 	Law 3049/2002 3389/2005 3270/2004 3498/2006

		<u>Olympic Properties S.A.</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To undertake the post-Olympic financing, management, administration, and exploitation of Olympic real estate property through commercial purposes as well as sport, entertainment, and cultural events. To provide on a lease basis or even free of charge these properties to local authorities, other state agencies, sport clubs and cultural groups. To capitalize on some of these properties through the development of entrepreneurial activities. 	Laws 3016/2002 3130/2003 3207/2003 3254/2004 3342/2005
<u>Ministry of Culture</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To protect national cultural heritage from ancient times to the present day and strengthen the development of contemporary culture. To preserve, protect, enhance, manage, promote, and organise museums as well as ancient, Byzantine, and contemporary sites and monuments. To organise, sponsor, and coordinate contemporary culture activities. 	P.D 191/2003	<u>Hellenic Festival S.A.</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To organise and promote musical, theatrical, and other events which contribute to tourism development (Athens and Epidaurus Festival) 	Law 2636/1998 2837/2000 3525/2007
		<u>Unification of Archaeological Sites of Athens S.A.</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To organise and enhance the archaeological sites of Athens. To create an upgraded network of pedestrian roads linking the archaeological zones and create public plazas and planted parks that will unify the various parts of the project. To restore and maintain monuments and buildings. 	Joint Ministerial Decision 45810/97
<u>Ministry for Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To elaborate, customize, and coordinate policies for spatial planning and environmental protection. To prepare in collaboration with other actors integrated plans for spatial planning at the national and regional levels such as the General and the Special Plans for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development. The planning of sustainable urban development for cities and settlements as well as the protection of sites of natural beauty and historical-cultural 	P.D 910/1977 161/1984 51/1988 Laws 1032/1980 1650/1986 2508/1997 2742/1999	<u>Coordinating Committee of Governmental Policy in the Sector of Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The preparation of integrated policies for spatial planning and sustainable development and the elaboration of policy measures for their effective implementation. To approve Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development Plans as well as to harmonise land use planning with the policies for economic development and social coherence. To coordinate all supervised actors involved in implementing these policies. 	Law 2742/1999

<p>importance.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The carrying out of public works and the collaboration with other state agencies in the planning and implementation of great infrastructure projects. 		<p><u>Organisation of Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coordination, monitoring, and follow-ups actions toward the implementation of the 'Structure Plan'. Coordination of programmes, projects, and measures launched or proposed by other agencies such as ministries and local authorities within the Greater Athens Area and the Prefecture of Attica. Promotion of proposals for a sound, equitable and sustainable development of the area as well as preservation of its historical, cultural, and natural resources. 	<p>Law 1515/1985</p>
<p><u>Ministry of Mercantile Marine, the Aegean and Island Policy</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The organization, improvement and development of shipping, its linkage with the economy, the support of maritime tourism, the provision of sea communication services, the protection of human life and property at sea, the protection of marine environment, as well as the adoption and implementation of maritime policy. To oversee the administration, organization, operation and utilisation of the country's ports and the implementation of port policy. 	<p>P.D 242/1999 175/2002 Law 2932/2001</p>	<p><u>Piraeus Port Authority S.A.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To manage and administrate the port of Piraeus and any facilities within the port's zone. To provide harbour services and transfer of cargo and passengers from and to the port. To undertake any relevant with the port's operation activities along with other commercial, fishing, industrial, entrepreneurial, tourism, and cultural activities. 	<p>Law 2688/1999</p>
<p><u>Ministry of Transportation and Communications</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To plan and implement national transportation policy To create the appropriate institutional framework at European and international level for the development of top quality transport, mass- 	<p>P.D 293/1999</p>	<p><u>Athens International Airport S.A</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partnership involving the Greek state and a private consortium in a shareholder scheme. The consortium won the tender for the airport building contractor under a BOOT scheme (Build-Own-Operate-Transfer). 	<p>Law 2338/1995</p>

<p>transit, telecom and postal services under conditions of healthy competition.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To ensure the safety of transport, mass-transit and telecommunications. • To promote the information society. • to contribute to the country's economic development and to the improvement of its citizens' quality of life in the areas falling under the Ministry's responsibility. 		<p><u>Organization of Athens Urban Transportation S.A.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To plan, organise, and coordinate the provision of all transportation services within the area of Athens-Piraeus (including the urban bus line 'Sights of Athens') with special concerns in serving people and the quality of their life. 	<p>Laws</p> <p>2175/1993</p> <p>2669/1998</p> <p>3297/2004</p>
		<p><u>Civil Aviation Authority</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The handling and development of air transport inside the country and abroad, care for the development of international aviation relations, and participation in international organizations. • Care for the organization of the air space, the exercise of air traffic control, inspections of aircraft and civil aviation crew suitability, and granting of the relevant certificates. • Establishment and operation of the Hellenic airports and continuous care for their development and modernization. 	<p>P.D</p> <p>56/1989</p> <p>35/1993</p> <p>80/1996</p>
<p><u>Ministry of Interior</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The implementation of governmental policy concerning the organisation, operation and recruitment of public services, the bureaucracy's reduction, as well as the improvement of civil servants and services provided. • To suggest measures for the enhancement and advancement of institutional devolution and regional-local authorities. • The organisation, operation, and financial administration of regional-local authorities. To participate in the planning of their operational programmes, studies, and projects. 	<p>P.D</p> <p>49/1988</p> <p>373/1995</p> <p>205/2007</p>	<p><u>Central Union of Municipalities and Communities of Greece (including the Local Union of Attica) and Union of Prefectural Administrations of Greece</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The promotion of regional-local administration, the enhancement of collaboration among prefectures, municipalities, and communities. • The research of issues concerning the management and operation of regional-local authorities as well as the impact of policies to regional economic development and social coherence. The government's consultation about these issues. 	<p>P.D</p> <p>197/1978</p> <p>369/1995</p> <p>48/1999</p>

Appendix K: Objectives and Action Plan of the Athens Tourism and Economic Development Company

Strategic Objectives

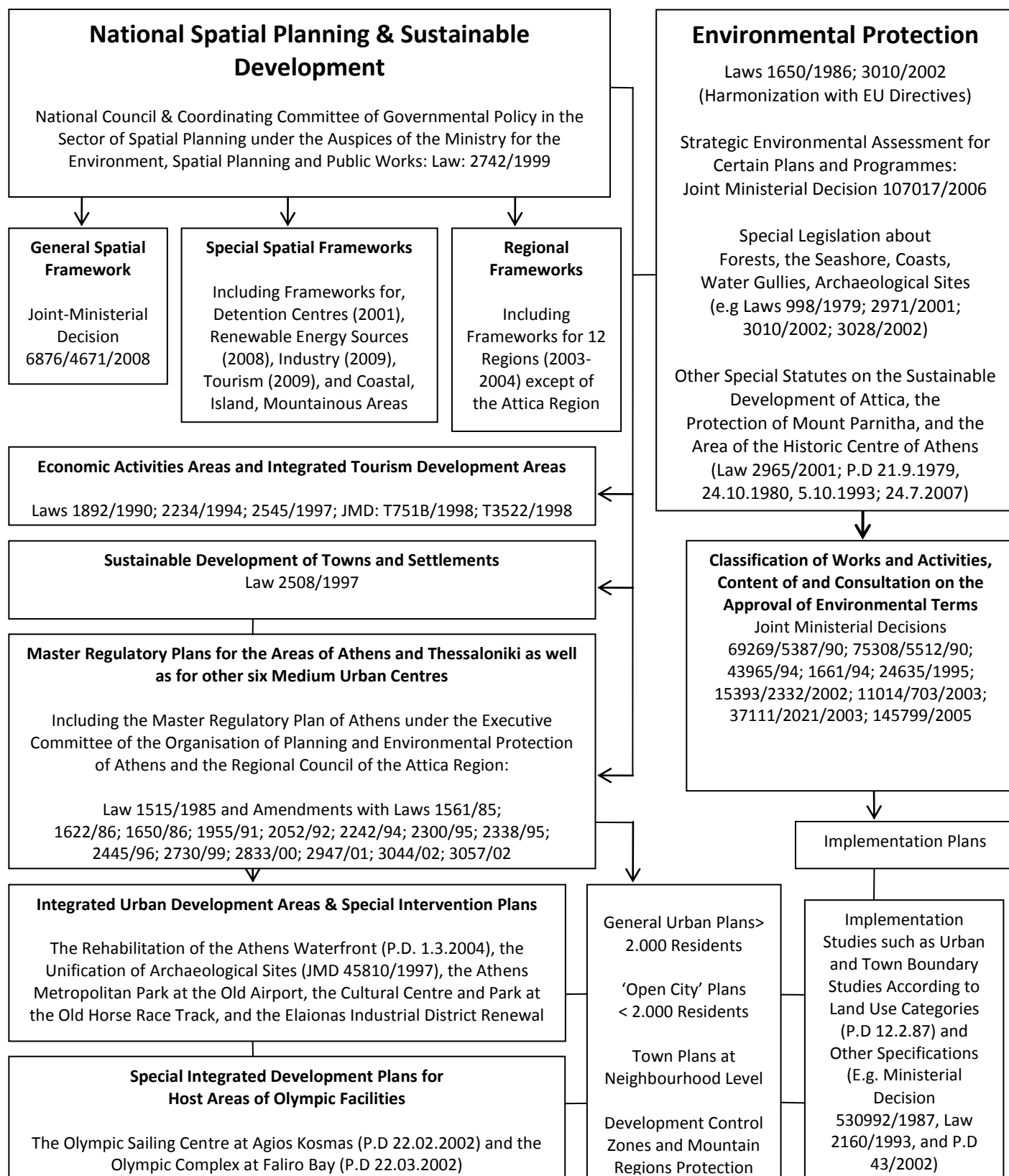
- To plan ways to extend the tourist season and strengthen the local economy.
- To improve-enrich the city's tourism product with respect to the city' cultural identity, social fabric, and natural environment.
- To strengthen the city's positive post-Olympic image. To create and convey a competitive identity (city-break, conventions and events destination) which will give the city and the region a stronger competitive advantage over other destinations.
- To enable plans and networks for partnerships between the public and the private sector for the city's tourism development. To develop domestic and international relationships for the destination's promotion in world markets.
- To materialize plans that will strengthen the city's economic and social development in order to boost employment and the local economy.
- To inform tourists as well as potential visitors about events taking place in Athens.
- To develop tourism conscience and culture of hospitality to the local and corporate world.

Activities until the end of 2008

- Creation of the identity "Breathtaking Athens" for visual communications promotional activities.
- Publication of material promoting Athens as a contemporary European city with a plethora of choices and events to be used at conventions, international tourism fairs, tourist offices, and hotels.
- Public relations with the media and promotion of Athens and of the company's activities on domestic and international television networks. To date, ATEDC has responded to around 100 journalists' requests.
- Participation in tourism fairs and conferences promoting Athens as a tourism product to travel agents and journalists.
- Foundation of the Athens Convention Bureau (ACB) for the development of convention and business tourism.
- Creation of two stylish and functional web portals, pledging to provide visitors with accurate and objective information about services that will meet their needs. www.breathtakingathens.com & www.athensconventionbureau.gr.
- Plan for the establishment of a series of information points in Athens.
- Study about the progress of Athenian tourism throughout the period 2000-2007 along with the University of Aegean.
- The ATEDC has joined international tourism organizations in order to gather technical knowledge in the areas of developing, managing and promoting tourism and convention products. As part of the same process, the ATEDC develops partnerships with domestic tourism associations to enhance the city's promotion.

Appendix L: Basic Legislation on Land-Use Planning

Environmental Protection for Tourism-Related Projects in Athens



Appendix M: Domestic and Foreign Overnights in Attica and Greece (1975-2001)

	1975			1981			1991		
	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)
Domestic Bed Nights in all Accommodation Establishments*	2796283	10204076	27.4	2416685	10408972	23.21	2581878	11900224	21.69
Foreign Bed Nights in all Accommodation Establishments*	4859428	14812477	32.8	7322691	30623057	23.91	4194798	30739587	13.64
Total Bed Nights	7655711	25016553	30.6	9739376	41032029	23.73	6776676	42639811	15.89

*Including Nights Spent in all the Categories of Hotels, Guest Rooms, Boarding Houses, Furnished Suites, Camping Sites, and Summer Resorts

	1995			1998			2001		
	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)	Attica	Greece	Attica in Greece (%)
Domestic Bed Nights in all Accommodation Establishments*	2320111	12404420	18.7	2832470	14422580	19.63	2430925	13774076	17.65
Foreign Bed Nights in all Accommodation Establishments*	4461941	38231872	11.67	5031754	42988904	11.7	3929560	42494140	9.24
Total Bed Nights	6782052	50636292	13.39	7864224	57411484	13.69	6360485	56268216	11.3

Source: Compilation of Statistical Sheets from the General Secretariat of Statistical Service of Greece

Appendix N: Tourism Expenditures and the Public Investments Program

Expenditures of the Public Investments Program on Projects under National Funding and Co-financing (Millions €)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
National Projects	927	1469	1147	1602	1497	1863	2109	2590	3131	3974	4639	2569	2673	2763	2650	3650
Co-finance	1442	1553	2067	3167	4012	4740	5312	5252	3883	4461	4883	4955	5511	6046	7000	5150
<i>Total</i>	<i>2369</i>	<i>3022</i>	<i>3214</i>	<i>4769</i>	<i>5509</i>	<i>6603</i>	<i>7421</i>	<i>7842</i>	<i>7014</i>	<i>8435</i>	<i>9522</i>	<i>7524</i>	<i>8184</i>	<i>8809</i>	<i>9650</i>	<i>8800</i>
National Projects (%)	39.1	48.6	35.7	33.6	27.2	28.2	28.4	33	44.6	47.1	48.7	34.1	32.7	31.4	27.5	41.5
Co-finance (%)	60.9	51.4	64.3	66.4	72.8	71.8	71.6	67	55.4	52.9	51.3	65.9	67.3	68.6	72.5	58.5

Expenditures per Sector per Year of the Public Investments Program (Millions €)

Ministries	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	2007	2008	2008	2009
	Final Payment	Final Payment	Final Payment	Final Payment	National Projects	Co-Finance	Final Payment	Initial Budget	Final Estimation	Forecast
Communications	1	2	28	16	0	25	25	35	25	20
Special Works	1566	120	324	64	44	0	44	90	125	151
Olympic Works	678	2024	50	159	109	0	109	100	95	132
Agriculture	156	247	373	333	19	325	344	339	360	363
Forests-Fishery	67	58	62	55	6	45	51	87	47	57
Reclaim Works	88	113	69	75	40	63	103	122	122	142
Large-Small Industries	406	429	522	685	430	605	1036	706	881	810
Energy	52	95	120	127	0	60	60	111	86	65
Transportations	1007	1918	1619	1588	208	1538	1746	817	1673	1595
Railways	406	329	257	275	0	397	397	200	290	225
<i>Tourism</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>90</i>
Culture	218	257	184	201	22	183	205	255	225	135
Education	576	600	656	628	227	387	613	820	805	815
Training	343	287	254	379	0	297	297	440	419	390
Towns-Environment	104	82	61	77	53	92	145	150	150	170
Health-Social Care	150	125	134	89	29	78	107	209	193	195
Water Supply-Sanitation	129	88	61	75	14	79	93	120	123	135
Public Administration	100	196	118	247	98	194	292	298	411	319
Research-Technology	102	118	115	168	2	93	95	93	153	130
Prefectural Works	909	995	1038	1227	966	287	1253	204	1448	243
Regional Programs	792	968	947	1308	85	1210	1295	530	1515	210
Various	570	410	447	339	365	58	423	295	414	388
Reserve	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	210	0	0
Grand Total	8435	9522	7524	8184	2763	6046	8809	9300	9650	8800

Tourism Expenditures as Percentage of the Total Public Investments Program

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Tourism	53	53	16	7	62	85	70	77	90	90
<i>Total</i>	<i>7421</i>	<i>7842</i>	<i>7014</i>	<i>8435</i>	<i>9522</i>	<i>7524</i>	<i>8184</i>	<i>8809</i>	<i>9650</i>	<i>8800</i>
Tourism (%)	0.71	068	023	0.08	0.65	1.13	0.85	0.87	0.93	1.02

Source: Compilation of Data from the Annual Budgets (MINECO, 2005 a; 2006 a; 2007 a; 2008; 2009),

Published in www.mnec.gr

Appendix O: The Supply of Hotels and Beds in Attica as a Percentage of the Supply in Greece

Categories	1971			1981			1990			1996			1998			2001		
	Attica	Greece	(%)	Attica	Greece	(%)	Attica	Greece	(%)	Attica	Greece	(%)	Attica	Greece	(%)	Attica	Greece	(%)
Luxury	15	24	62.5	21	42	50	21	47	44.68	18	62	29.03	20	72	27.77	19	90	21.11
A Class	31	121	25.61	42	206	20.38	47	286	16.43	59	656	9	58	728	7.96	53	817	6.48
B Class	97	342	28.36	128	483	26.5	125	807	15.48	128	1362	9.39	121	1449	8.35	92	1542	5.96
C Class	197	687	28.67	287	1385	20.72	292	2002	14.58	326	3750	8.69	300	3870	7.75	265	4191	6.32
D Class	215	1116	19.26	192	1342	14.3	215	1630	13.19	123	985	12.48	118	1046	11.28	88	1083	8.12
E Class										78	662	11.78	69	620	11.12	46	562	8.18
Total Hotels	555	2290	24.23	670	3458	19.37	700	4772	14.66	732	7477	9.79	686	7785	8.81	563	8285	6.79
Luxury	4945	6993	70.71	8649	17770	48.67	9526	20552	46.35	9130	29147	31.32	9809	32678	30	9475	37396	25.33
A Class	4435	20038	22.13	8310	62195	13.36	10019	88503	11.32	10502	132667	7.91	10094	143409	7.03	10906	155911	6.99
B Class	9372	32606	28.74	18919	68273	27.71	18196	103214	17.62	16285	137190	11.87	15493	143355	10.8	11596	146218	7.93
C Class	14702	42390	34.68	20695	81015	25.54	21435	119242	17.97	21915	197552	11.09	19322	203696	9.48	16977	214870	7.9
D Class	7813	28820	27.1	7388	37911	19.48	7869	46821	16.8	5010	34281	14.61	4754	36431	13.04	3566	37027	9.63
E Class										2723	17928	15.18	2283	17307	13.19	1640	16142	10.15
Total Beds	41267	130847	31.53	63961	267164	23.94	67045	378332	17.72	65565	548765	11.94	61755	576876	10.7	54160	607564	8.91

Categories	2004			2007		
	Attica	Greece	(%)	Attica	Greece	(%)
5 Stars	24	139	17.26	29	199	14.57
4 Stars	68	896	7.58	74	1048	7.06
3 Stars	118	1660	7.1	117	1900	6.15
2 Stars	308	4473	6.88	294	4403	6.67
1 Star	147	1731	8.49	139	1657	8.38
Total Hotels	665	8899	7.47	653	9207	7.09
5 Star Beds	10985	51967	21.13	11967	70198	17.04
4 Star Beds	12696	168940	7.51	13487	181476	7.43
3 Star Beds	13527	157495	8.58	12882	163729	7.86
2 Star Beds	18889	230281	8.2	17747	228404	7.77
1 Star Beds	5529	59588	9.27	5055	57126	8.84
Total	61626	668271	9.22	61138	700933	8.72

Source: Chamber of Hotels
(www.grhotels.gr)

Appendix P: Evolution of Hotel Capacity in Attica (2001-2008)

Hotels 2001												
Attica	Luxury	A	B	C	D	E	Total					
Athens	11	23	39	103	49	28	253					
Piraeus	0	0	8	20	5	5	38					
Rest of Attica	8	29	35	90	24	2	188					
Islands of the Saronic Gulf	0	1	10	52	10	11	84					
Total	19	53	92	265	88	46	563					
Hotels 2002												
Attica	Luxury	A	B	C	D	E	Total					
Athens	11	24	39	103	48	27	252					
Piraeus	0	0	8	21	5	5	39					
Rest of Attica	8	31	34	92	24	2	191					
Islands of the Saronic Gulf	0	1	10	53	10	11	85					
Total	19	56	91	269	87	45	567					
Hotels 2003												
Attica	Luxury	A	B	C	D	E	Total					
Athens	12	24	40	104	47	25	252					
Piraeus	0	0	8	20	5	7	40					
Rest of Attica	7	31	38	101	26	3	206					
Islands of the Saronic Gulf	0	7	31	76	22	30	166					
Total	19	62	117	301	100	65	664					
Hotels 2004												
Attica		5*	4*	3*	2*	1*	Total					
Athens		13	29	44	102	64	252					
Piraeus		0	0	8	22	9	39					
Rest of Attica		11	31	38	106	24	210					
Islands of the Saronic Gulf		0	8	28	78	50	164					
Total		24	68	118	308	147	665					
Hotels 2005												
Attica		5*	4*	3*	2*	1*	Total					
Athens		14	33	43	102	64	256					
Piraeus		0	0	8	22	9	39					
Rest of Attica		12	31	38	107	23	211					
Islands of the Saronic Gulf		0	8	28	77	50	163					
Total		26	72	117	308	146	669					
Hotels 2006												
Attica		5*	4*	3*	2*	1*	Total					
Athens		15	33	43	100	61	252					
Piraeus		1	0	8	23	7	39					
Rest of Attica		12	31	39	100	22	204					
Islands of the Saronic Gulf		0	9	30	73	50	162					
Total		28	73	120	296	140	657					
Hotels 2007							Hotels 2008					
Attica	5*	4*	3*	2*	1*	Total	5*	4*	3*	2*	1*	Total
Athens	15	32	42	98	62	249	15	34	46	96	58	249
Piraeus	1	0	8	23	7	39	1	1	8	23	7	40
Rest of Attica	13	32	37	102	21	205	13	35	39	109	20	216
Islands of the Saronic Gulf	0	10	30	71	49	160	0	15	47	87	50	199
Total	29	74	117	294	139	653	29	85	140	315	135	704

Source: Chamber of Hotels (www.grhotels.gr)

**Appendix Q: Results of Latest Development
Laws for Tourism in Greece and Attica**

Categories of Investments	Greece					
	Number of Investments			New Job Positions		
	2601/98	3299/04	Total	2601/98	3299/04	Total
1. Establishment or Expansion of Hotel Units	71	276	347	1075	6576	7651
2. Modernization of Operating Hotel Units	635	504	1139	2894	2062	4954
3. Modernization of Operating Camping Sites	12	8	20	25	22	47
4. Transformation of Traditional or Preserved Buildings into Hotel Units	232	132	364	1516	409	1926
5. Modernization of Operating Hotel Units with Creation of Additional Facilities	17	31	48	182	168	350
6. Establishment, Expansion of Special Tourism Infrastructure	28	18	46	2067	440	2507
Total	995	969	1964	7759	9677	17435

Source: Compiled with data from GNT0 (2007 a): 2601/98 (May 98-April 05); 3299/04 (May 05-June 07)

Categories of Investments	Attica					
	Number of Investments			New Job Positions		
	2601/98	3299/04	Total	2601/98	3299/04	Total
1. Establishment or Expansion of Hotel Units	0	1	1	0	7	7
2. Modernization of Operating Hotel Units	45	22	67	764	224	988
3. Modernization of Operating Camping Sites	1	0	1	3	0	3
4. Transformation of Traditional or Preserved Buildings into Hotel Units	6	3	9	215	63	278
5. Modernization of Operating Hotel Units with Creation of Additional Facilities	1	2	3	104	32	136
6. Establishment, Expansion of Special Tourism Infrastructure	5	1	6	998	5	1003
Total	58	29	87	2084	331	2415

Source: Compiled with data from GNT0 (2007 a): 2601/98 (May 98-April 05); 3299/04 (May 05-June 07)

Categories of Investments	Attica										
	Prefecture of Athens			Prefecture of Piraeus			Prefecture of Eastern Attica*			Prefecture of Western Attica	
	2601/98	3299/04	Total	2601/98	3299/04	Total	2601/98	3299/04	Total	2601/98	Total
1. Establishment or Expansion of Hotel Units	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
2. Modernization of Operating Hotel Units	29	11	40	7	5	12	8	6	14	1	1
3. Modernization of Operating Camping Sites	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
4. Transformation of Traditional or Preserved Buildings into Hotel Units	5	1	6	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
5. Modernization of Operating Hotel Units with Creation of Additional Facilities	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
6. Establishment, Expansion of Special Tourism Infrastructure	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	4	0	0
Total	38	12	50	8	8	16	11	9	20	1	1

*9 of the 14 investments in Eastern Attica are situated in the coastal municipality of Vouliagmeni along the border with the Prefecture of Athens

Source: Compiled with data from GNT0 (2007 a): 2601/98 (May 98-April 05); 3299/04 (May 05-June 07)

Appendix R: Provisions of the Development Law 3522/06

Percentages of Aid Provided by Incentive Area and Per Type of Aid according to Law 3522/06

	Zone A		Zone B		Zone C	
	1. Subsidy or Equipment Leasing Subsidy or 2. Subsidy for Employment	or alternatively Tax Exemption	1. Subsidy or Equipment Leasing Subsidy or 2. Subsidy for Employment	or alternatively Tax Exemption	1. Subsidy or Equipment Leasing Subsidy or 2. Subsidy for Employment	or alternatively Tax Exemption
Category 2: Establishment / Expansion of Hotels of 3 star rating and above. Establishment / Expansion of Car Race Tracks Thematic Parks	15%	50%	25%	100%	35%	100%
Category 1: Modernization of Hotels and Camping Sites. Conversion of Preserved Buildings into Hotels. Establishment / Expansion/ Modernization of Special Tourism Infrastructure	20%	60%	30%	100%	40%	100%

Map of Incentive Areas according to Law 3522/06



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Law 3279/2004: Establishment of the National Council for Competitiveness and Development and Regulation of Issues of the Ministry of Development. **GOVERNMENT GAZETTE 205 A**

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Law 3299/2004: Incentives for Private Investments for Economic Development and Regional Conversion. **GOVERNMENT GAZETTE 261 A**

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Strategic Environmental Assessment of certain plans and programs of the European Parliament and of the Council of the June 27, 2001. **GOVERNMENT GAZETTE 1225/B**

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Ministerial Decision 49828/2008: Special Framework for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development of Renewable Energy Sources. **GOVERNMENT GAZETTE 2464 B**

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